THE

HISTORY

OF

JOHN

DUKE of MARLBOROUGH,

Prince of Mindelheim, Captain-General and Commander in chief of the armies of Her Britannick Majeſty and the States of the United Provinces, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Maſter of the Ordnance, *&c.*

INCLUDING

A more exact, impartial, and methodical narrative of the late war upon the Danube, the Rhine, and in the Netherlands, than has ever yet appeared.

Compiled from Authentick Journals, without regard to any former attempt of the ſame nature.

By the Author of *The Hiſtory of Prince Eugene.*

Marvillon, ?

——— *In battle brave;*
But ſtill ſerene in all the ſtormy war,
Like heav'n above the clouds; and after fight,
As merciful and kind to vanquiſh'd foes,
As a forgiving God.

DRYDEN's *King Arthur.*

Printed in the Year, MDCCLIV.

1754

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To His Grace

THE

DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

My Lord Duke,

IT is impoſſible to think of a patron to this ſhort hiſtory, without reſolving at once who it ſhould be. Every reader who looks in the title of it, will immediately conclude, that a life of the late Duke of Marlborough can belong to no body ſo properly as to the preſent.

You too, My Lord, have taken up the profeſſion of arms, which adds to the propriety of this addreſs. It can give no offence to the greateſt general in Europe, to propoſe your illuſtrious grandfather to him for an example; but no man living can imitate that example with the ſame pleaſure, the ſame inward ſatisfaction as your Grace.

There have been, in ſome families, a ſucceſſion of great captains, as well as great ſtateſmen. Every ſoldier who reveres the memory of the firſt Duke of Marl-

Marlborough, will rejoice to ſee the ſame heroic qualities ſhine forth in a ſecond.

We are now, My Lord, in all appearance, upon the brink of a war, that only teſt of military genius, and which your Grace hath hitherto wanted. Even the immortal Churchill, had he lived his youth under the pacific reigns of their late and preſent moſt excellent majeſties, could have had no more opportunity than your Grace, to ſhew he was able to command armies.

Tho' his courage was early known, it was late before his conſummate abilities had full room to appear, and the greateſt character in hiſtory was formed towards the decline of life. Your Grace, yet in your prime, has all the advantage of his mighty toils to ſet out with. That you may early acquire as much fame as your great anceſtor, and live long to enjoy it, is the prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

The AUTHOR.

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK I.

From his Birth to the Year when he was declared Generaliſſimo of the Allies.

JOHN CHURCHILL, Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of the empire, was the ſecond ſon of Sir Winſton Churchill, Knt. of Wooton-Baſſet in the county of Wilts, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake, Bart. of Aſhe in Devonſhire. The family of the Churchills, or Courcills, (as they were formerly called) is very ancient, and we have memorials of it in Normandy before the conqueſt, and in England from that period down to the *His deſcent and birth.*

birth of our hero, which happened at Aſhe aforeſaid, in the pariſh of Muſbury, in Devonſhire, on the 24th of June, 1650.

Sir Winſton Churchill, his father.

The Churchills had long been eminent for their ſervices to the crown, and Mr. Winſton, in particular, was ſo diſtinguiſhed by his loyalty in the worſt of times to King Charles I, that he became obnoxious to Cromwell and the commonwealth. It was during his lady's retirement from the perſecutions of the faction, that his ſon John, a perſon who has made the name and family illuſtrious to all poſterity, was given to this nation, and to Europe. Mr. Churchill had better fortune after the Reſtoration than many other loyal ſufferers, who were but too little regarded at the court of King Charles II. For he was honoured with the dignity of knighthood, made one of the commiſſioners of the court of Claims in Ireland, and afterwards clerk comptroller to the board of Green-cloth in England. He ſerved in parliament for the towns of Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, and Lyn-Regis in Norfolk, and lived in favour with both Charles II and James II, till he died a little before the abdication of the latter. He was one of the firſt fellows of the Royal Society, a gentleman of ſenſe and learning, ſteady in his principles, and unblemiſhed in his character. We have a folio volume of his writing, entitled, *Divi Britannici; being Remarks upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Iſle from A. M. 2855, to A. C.* 1660: a performance to which thoſe who have read it give a good character.

His brothers.

Two of his ſons, beſides John, took to the practice of arms; his third ſon, George, who died an admiral in 1710, and his fourth ſon Charles, who died in 1714 general of foot, colonel of the Coldſtream regiment of guards, and governor of Guernſey.

Mrs. Arabella Churchill, the Duke's ſiſter.

His eldeſt daughter, Mrs. Arabella Churchill, was maid of honour to the Dutcheſs of York, and a favourite of the Duke's, who had by her two

two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt ſon, James Fitz-James, has been ſince famous by the titles of Duke of Berwick, and marſhal of France; and the other, Henry Fitz-James, called *The Grand Prior*, was lieutenant-general and admiral of the French gallies. One of the daughters, Henrietta, was mother of the late Earl of Waldegrave; and the other died a nun. Mrs. Churchill afterwards married colonel Charles Godfrey, who in the reign of Queen Anne was made maſter of the jewel-office, and one of the clerks-comptrollers of the Green-cloth, the place her father had before enjoyed. She lived to a great age, and died but a few years ago.

Her iſſue by King James.

Mr. Macky ſays in his memoirs, "It was the "Duke of York's love for this lady, that firſt "brought young Mr. Churchill to court; and the "beauty of his own perſon, joined to his good "addreſs, ſo gained on the Dutcheſs of Cleveland, "then miſtreſs to King Charles, that ſhe effectually eſtabliſhed him there." It is no new thing for the miſtreſs of a prince to bring her relations into favour, nor for a handſome youth to win the good graces of a court-lady, eſpecially a lady of the Dutcheſs of Cleveland's complexion. But the many ſtories that are told concerning the amours of our hero, and his pretended ingratitude to the author of his fortune, muſt depend for their credit on the perſon * who relates them, and who is well known to have writ under the direction of a party in oppoſition to the Duke of Marlborough, at a time when no artifices were neglected to blacken his *moral*, as well as his *martial* and *political* character.

Said to be the cauſe of her brother's riſe.

Without relying therefore on ſecret hiſtory, (which at beſt is uncertain, and might be equally injurious to many other names of the firſt rank) I ſhall relate only the viſible cauſes of our hero's

Sceret hiſtory not to be relied on.

* *The author of the* New Atlantis.

advancement, and the ſteps by which he gradually roſe; which, conſidering the fine qualities he poſſeſſed, and the accidental advantages he manifeſtly had, were nothing ſo extraordinary for many years, that we ſhall need to have recourſe to any other than obvious facts to account for them.

The Duke's education.

All writers agree, that he had a liberal and polite education, under the immediate care of his father, and the tuition of a clergyman of the church of England; who ſo grounded him in the doctrines and principles of that church, that he ever after ſacrificed to it all other intereſts, when they came in competition therewith; eſpecially at the ever-memorable Revolution, a period in which he conducted himſelf with the utmoſt delicacy, as will appear in the ſequel. With all the acquirements of a fine gentleman, he had a perſon ſo agreeable, and his prudence and modeſty were ſo conſpicuous, that it is no wonder, through the intereſt of his father and his ſiſter, if they eaſily recommended him to his royal highneſs the Duke of York, who made him one of his pages of honour, and from that time teſtified for him ſuch an extraordinary affection, as inferiors of conſpicuous merit ſometimes exact from their ſuperiors.

Made page of honour to the D. of York.

It was not long before Mr. Churchill diſcovered his martial inclination; and, it is ſaid, he took an opportunity one day to mention it to his royal maſter, and to aſk him for a pair of colours in the Guards. As the Duke was himſelf fond of military exerciſes, the requeſt of his young favourite was far from being diſagreeable, and he made no difficulty of complying with it.

Obtains a pair of colours.

1672

In 1672, Mr. Churchill had a captain's commiſſion given him by the Duke of Monmouth, in his Grace's own regiment, when he accompanied his Grace into France, and ſerved under him in the Netherlands againſt the Dutch, with whom Lewis XIV was then at war. It is well known that the

Goes a captain in the ſervice of France.

policy

policy of that time engaged King Charles to ſend 6000 men to the aſſiſtance of the Grand Monarch, who was juſt upon the point of ſwallowing up the Dutch, that he might the more eaſily, in their turns, devour the reſt of the neighbouring ſtates, and among them England itſelf. 1672

The advantages he has in that ſervice.

The King of France, aſſiſted by the Prince of Conde and Marſhal de Turenne, the two greateſt generals of the age, commanded in perſon this year at the head of near 180,000 men. In one campaign he almoſt over-run the United Provinces, with an incredible rapidity; and his army was undoubtedly the beſt ſchool then in the world, for the acquiſition of military knowledge. One of Mr. Churchill's turn of mind could not miſs the improvement of ſuch an opportunity, and we are aſſured that he ſo far diſtinguiſhed his courage as to be taken notice of by M. de Turenne, who highly commended him by the name of *the handſome Engliſhman;* a title he peculiarly deſerved, and by which he was afterwards known in the French army. This introduction to the favour of ſo great a commander, made our captain ſtill more aſſiduous to deſerve his notice; and it may be ſaid that Marſhal Turenne, the moſt accompliſhed general France ever had, partly by his countenance, and partly by his example, taught Mr. Churchill the rudiments of that art, with which the Duke of Marlborough afterwards made France to tremble.

An inſtance of his bravery.

It was not only at the head of his own company, that our young hero gave proofs of his bravery: he was a voluntier in every difficult enterprize, and ſcarce was there any danger which his conduct did not ſurmount. M. Rouſſet informs us, that "a certain French lieutenant-colonel being commanded to defend a paſs, he was ſo diſheartened at the approach of a detachment of Dutch, that he immediately quitted his poſt. Advice being brought of it to M. de Turenne, he turned to a general officer who ſtood

1673

near him; *I'll lay you*, says he, *a ſupper, and a dozen bottles of the beſt Florence, that my handſome Engliſhman regains the paſs, with half the number of men that other fellow loſt it.* Captain Churchill, who was within hearing, immediately accepted the party, won the Marſhal his wager, and gained the applauſe of the whole army."

Having ſignalized his gallantry in the Low-Countries, by this and other exploits, he was the next year at the ſiege of Maeſtricht, where the French king alſo commanded in his own perſon. Among a thouſand glorious actions that happened during this ſiege, there was one in which the Engliſh won peculiar honour, and Captain Churchill more than any Engliſhman beſide. The Duke of Monmouth, who was commanding lieutenant-general of the day, had orders to attack a counterſcarp, for which a detachment of Grenadiers was aſſigned him out of all the regiments of the army. But the French and Swiſs, not being able to endure the fire from the town, began to retreat, and ſhewed a manifeſt inclination to abandon the deſign. Captain Churchill, ſeeing this, inſtantly put himſelf at the head of his own company of grenadiers, and marched to ſuſtain his general. He was the firſt who mounted the breach of a half-moon that the Dutch had retaken; and, having driven the enemy, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, from their lodgment, he planted thereon the French colours with his own hand. Lewis XIV was an eye-witneſs of this gallant action; and tho' the chief honour of it was given to the Duke of Monmouth, who conducted the attack, and expoſed himſelf to great danger, his Majeſty did not overlook the part of Captain Churchill, whom he thanked in the moſt polite terms, and promiſed to tranſmit, to the court of England, ſuch an account of his behaviour as it deſerved. A recommendation of this powerful nature, ſeconded

He is preſent at the ſiege of Maeſtricht.

His bravery there.

Commended by the French King.

conded by the Duke of Monmouth, prevents our wondering at the riſe of this young officer immediately after. 1673

We are aſſured that King Charles, upon the return of his troops, was ſo charmed with what had been related concerning them in this ſiege, that he ordered a repreſentation of it to be exhibited in his park at Windſor; and that when he was complimenting the Duke of Monmouth on his own conduct, and that of the officers under him, the Duke generouſly told his Majeſty, that he owed his life to Captain Churchill's bravery. A piece of ſervice ſo ſingular, as ſaving the life of a darling ſon, could not but have a great effect on the mind of that good-natured Monarch, who immediately promoted Mr. Churchill to be lieutenant-colonel of Sir Charles Littleton's regiment of foot. At the ſame time his royal highneſs the Duke of York, ſenſible of the honour done to his recommendation, by the gallant behaviour of his young favourite, raiſed him to the poſts of maſter of his wardrobe, and gentleman of his bed-chamber. *Further promoted.*

One of the firſt vacant regiments, by the Duke's intereſt, was given to Lieutenant-Colonel Churchill; who had, however, no immediate opportunity of diſplaying his valour again in the field. The peace which enſued, at the beginning of the year 1674, left him at full leiſure to purſue his intereſts at home, which he knew as well how to do in the court as in the army. *Has a regiment given him.*

In 1679, King Charles having required the Duke of York, by letter, to abſent himſelf for ſome time beyond the ſeas, Colonel Churchill attended his Royal Highneſs in his retreat to Bruſſels, and at the end of the ſame year in his voyage to Scotland, where the Duke honoured him with ſeveral important truſts. We have no occaſion to enter into a detail of the ſtate-commotions, which hurried this Prince thus from place to place, 1679 *Accompanies the D. of York in his ſeveral retreats.*

1679 place, they being fully ſet forth in the hiſtories of thoſe times: it ſuffices to ſay, that Colonel Churchill was all this while high in his maſter's favour, who removed him from his regiment of foot to the command of a regiment of dragoons.

1681 In the year 1681, our Colonel married Mrs. Sarah Jennings, (the preſent Dutcheſs-Dowager of Marlborough) daughter and co-heireſs of Richard Jennings, Eſq; of Sandridge in Hertfordſhire: an inſtance that, whatever taſte he might have for gallantry, he did not give into that high pitch of libertiniſm, which prevailed in thoſe days at court.

Marries.

1682 The Duke of York had already been twice in Scotland within about two years, when he went thither again by ſea, in 1682, accompanied by Colonel Churchill. It was in this voyage that they both had a narrow eſcape; the frigate in which they ſailed being run a-ground, by which accident ſeveral perſons of quality, and 130 ſeamen, were loſt. The Duke of York expreſſed his high eſteem for Colonel Churchill on this melancholy occaſion, by calling him into the pinnace, in which thoſe who eſcaped were ſaved; and ſome affirm, that the Colonel was not a little inſtrumental in preſerving the Duke. This happened on the 15th of May, 1682: and the next year, upon his return from Scotland, he was created Lord Churchill, and Baron of Aymouth in the kingdom of Scotland, for his eminent fidelity to the Duke of York, whom in all his misfortunes he never deſerted, till that unhappy prince deſerted thoſe principles which could alone entitle him to the ſervices of an Engliſhman. About the ſame time our hero was promoted to the third troop of Horſe-Guards, and had other marks of royal favour conferred on him.

In danger of being caſt away with the D. of York.

1683

Created a peer.

His moderation.

We are well informed, that this great man, notwithſtanding the Duke's inclination to rigour during

during his government in Scotland, and that the favourite's whole almoſt depended upon a continuance of his Royal Highneſs's beneficence, did yet find means to ſoften the ſeverity of ſome proſecutions againſt the Preſbyterian party, which had been ſtirred up by the Epiſcopalians with the Duke's encouragement. 1683

King Charles II dying on the 6th of February, 1684-5, was ſucceeded by his brother James, Duke of York, who immediately began to ſhower down his favours on the Lord Aymouth. He continued him in all his former employments, created him the ſame year a Baron of England, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge in the county of Hertford, and advanced him to the rank of a brigadier-general. He alſo ſent his Lordſhip ambaſſador to France, to notify the death of King Charles, and his own acceſſion to the crown. 1685

Sent againſt the Duke of Monmouth.

Upon his return to England, Lord Churchill was, in the month of July, the ſame year, ſent to command the King's troops in the Weſt againſt the Duke of Monmouth, who was then in arms againſt his ſovereign, and had declared the parliament ſitting at Weſtminſter a riotous aſſembly. His Lordſhip behaved on this occaſion as he did at all other times, that is, with the utmoſt courage and conduct: for he kept the regiment of Dunbarton, and other troops under his command, ſtrictly to their duty, while the Lord Feverſham, and ſome other principal officers of his Majeſty's army, by indulging themſelves in their diverſions without thought of the enemy, had well nigh drawn deſtruction on the King's forces. The Duke of Monmouth attacked them unexpectedly; nor could this diſaſter have been poſſibly retrieved, if the troops under the Lord Churchill, by a gallant reſiſtance, had not given the reſt time to form, and thereby opened the path to that victory at Sedgmore, which eſtabliſhed the King

King upon his throne, by putting an end to this rebellion.

1688

Sent for to the Queen's pretended labour, but does not go.

In 1688, Lord Churchill was ſent for to the famous labour on the 10th of June; but upon ſome intimations that he had before received, he kept purpoſely out of the way, for which reaſon his name is not found in the liſt of deponents in Chancery. Thus did his Lordſhip always ſtand in the higheſt degree of favour with his royal maſter, to the very time of the Prince of Orange's coming over; but he was never reproached with having the leaſt hand even in the errors, much leſs in the open violences of that ſhort and unhappy reign. As he ſerved his maſter faithfully, ſo when he found it impoſſible to ſerve him any longer, without doing violence to his conſcience, he quitted his ſervice with the greateſt decency and reſpect. The letter he wrote to the King upon that occaſion, is an ample teſtimony of his great virtue, as well as of his good ſenſe: a copy of it here follows.

His letter to King James.

SIR,

" SINCE men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity, when they act contrary to their intereſts; and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majeſty, in the worſt of times, (for which I acknowledge my poor ſervices much over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reaſonably convince your Majeſty and the world, that I am acted by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your Majeſty at a time when your affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects, much more from one who lies under the greateſt perſonal obligations

" ima-

" imaginable to your Majeſty. This, Sir, could 1688
" proceed from nothing but the inviolable dic-
" tates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary con-
" cern for my religion, which no good man can
" oppoſe, and with which, I am inſtructed, no-
" thing ought to come in competition. Heaven
" knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion
" of your Majeſty has hitherto repreſented thoſe
" unhappy deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-
" intereſted men have framed againſt your Ma-
" jeſty's true intereſt and the Proteſtant religion.
" But, as I can no longer join with ſuch to give a
" pretence, by conqueſt, to bring them to effect;
" ſo will I always, with the hazard of my life
" and fortune, (ſo much your Majeſty's due) en-
" deavour to preſerve your royal perſon and law-
" ful rights, with all the tender concern and du-
" tiful reſpect that become

YOUR MAJESTY'S
Moſt Dutiful and Obliged
Subject and Servant,
CHURCHILL.

His vindication.

Notwithſtanding the reaſons here alledged, there were not wanting thoſe who threw out ſevere cenſures upon Lord Churchill, for thus joining with the reſt of the nobility in their deſertion from King James. Methinks, there need not be any thing more ſaid to juſtify him in this particular, than what he has himſelf urged in his letter, that " Nothing ought to come in competition with " the dictates of one's conſcience." If it be certain that King James's aim was to involve the nation in Popery and ſlavery, and that the deſign of inviting over the Prince of Orange was merely to prevent the growth of theſe (all which is manifeſt from the hiſtory of the Revolution) Lord Churchill did no more than what every Engliſhman, who prefers the intereſt of his country to that of any particular perſon, ought to have done.

And

1688 And that he did not purſue this meaſure without mature conſideration, is manifeſt from what we are told: that he had great conflicts within himſelf, between his duty to his Majeſty and affection to his country, and adviſed with ſeveral eminent divines, particularly Dr. Turner, then Biſhop of Ely, who told him; "That it was rebellion "againſt God, to ſide with thoſe who attempted "to deſtroy our civil and religious rights; and "that not to take part with ſuch as came to the "help of the Lord, againſt the mighty, was "to be ſubjected to the curſe pronounced a-"gainſt Meroz."

He joins the Prince of Orange.

When the Prince was landed, Lord Churchill, who with many more had ſet his hand to invite his Highneſs over, joined him at Sherbourn, having left behind him the dutiful letter above recited. It is foreign to our purpoſe to relate what paſſed at the Revolution, any farther than to ſay, that Lord Churchill was the inſtrument of bringing over the army to the Prince of Orange, and that England owed entirely to his conduct, the making that great turn of affairs without ſhedding of blood.

Is made a lieutenant-general.

The Prince of Orange, who was an excellent judge of merit, continued his Lordſhip a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and immediately promoted him to the rank of a lieutenant-general, and ſhewed him every other mark of countenance and favour. He alſo ſent him to gather together the guards, that had been diſperſed upon diſbanding the King's army, when his Lordſhip ſhewed as much addreſs in bringing over the ſoldiers to one prince, as he had done in making them deſert another. He was thought likewiſe the fitteſt perſon to ſend to the King at Whitehall, and adviſe him to withdraw to Ham-Houſe, or ſome other proper place, till matters were fully ſettled, and the people ſatisfied.

In

1689

Is made an Earl.

In April, 1689, their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary were pleaſed to raiſe the Lord Churchill to the degree of an earl, by the ſtile and title of Earl of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts; and the ſame year he commanded the Engliſh forces in Flanders, and was with Prince Waldeck at the action at Walcourt, againſt the Marſhal d' Humieres.

His Lordſhip's ſervices at Walcourt.

It was the conduct of our hero, and the bravery of the troops he commanded, that ſaved here the whole army of the confederates, and brought over the advantage to their ſide: upon which the Prince of Waldeck paid him the compliment to tell King William, "That Lord Marl-"borough ſaw into the art of a general more in "one day, than others did in many years."

1690

As long as King James remained in perſon in Ireland, the Earl of Marlborough declined appearing in the field; but as ſoon as that Prince returned to France, his Lordſhip readily accepted the command of a body of troops, which were ſent to reduce Cork and Kingſale. The Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the Daniſh auxiliaries, refuſed at firſt to obey his orders; but the Earl, who knew how to conquer himſelf, as well as others, by propoſing the expedient of commanding alternately, got over that difficulty, and accompliſhed, with ſurpriſing rapidity, the deſign on which he was ſent over. The word was one day Wirtemberg, and the other day Marlborough, which prevented any delay of the neceſſary projects. He embarked in September, and returned with victory before the end of October; having ſubdued two cities, well fortified and provided with garriſons, little inferior in number to the army with which he beſieged them: on the receipt of which news, King William was pleaſed to ſay, "That no other general in Europe, who "had made ſo few campaigns as the Earl of

Reduces Cork and Kingſale.

1690

" Marlborough, could have accompliſhed ſo much " in a quarter of one."

Limerick, Cork, and Kingſale, were the chief places that held out in Ireland to the end of the preceeding campaign. Limerick had given King William a great deal of trouble, and was ſtill in the hands of the enemy; as the other two muſt have been all the winter, but for the Earl of Marlborough, who formed the project which himſelf executed. An expedition ſo fortunate, and that drew ſuch a compliment from his Sovereign, deſerves to be particularly deſcribed: I ſhall therefore inſert the printed account of the two ſieges, as it was publiſhed by authority at that time.

The ſiege of Cork.

The forces commanded by the Earl of Marlborough being landed about five miles from Cork, about 1000 men were ſent to ſeize upon ſome advantageous poſts in the neighbourhood of the place; upon whoſe approach the enemy ſet fire to the ſuburbs. Cork is a neat, wealthy, and populous city, inhabited much by Engliſh. It has a commodious haven on the river Leo, which both ſurrounds and runs thro' it; is of good ſtrength, and encloſed with walls in the form of an egg. On the 25th of September, the Earl went himſelf to view the town, and finding the Cat-Fort abandoned, he poſted ſome of his men there. The ſame day all the army approached within muſket-ſhot, and on the next the Guards advanced to the ruins of the ſuburbs, and raiſed two batteries againſt the old fort. A breach was made on the 27th, in the rampart on the Eaſt-ſide, and in the evening the beſieged beat a parley, and ſent an officer to capitulate, after hoſtages were given on both ſides. As the conditions were not accepted, Brigadier Churchill was ſent the next day with four regiments, to croſs over into an iſland, near the ramparts in which the breach was made. The men threw themſelves into the water, tho' it was above three foot deep; and being

being preceeded by Lord Colcheſter, at the head of the grenadiers, croſſed the iſland, notwithſtanding the enemies terrible fire, and got poſſeſſion of a houſe within twenty paces of the rampart. In this action the Duke of Grafton, who went a voluntier, was mortally wounded. 1690

All things being ready for a general aſſault, the Iriſh beat another parley, and Colonel Mackilicut, the governor, ſent the Earl of Tyrone and Colonel Rycaut to agree upon terms of capitulation. The conditions granted were, "That the garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 men, ſhould remain "priſoners of war; that the Old Fort ſhould "be delivered up within an hour, and two gates "of the city the next day; that all the Pro-"teſtant priſoners ſhould be inſtantly releaſed; "that all the arms, as well of the inhabitants "as the ſoldiers, ſhould be ſecured; and that "an exact account ſhould be delivered up of the "ammunitions and proviſions in the magazines." Theſe conditions were exactly performed, and an Engliſh garriſon put in the place. *The garriſon ſurrenders.*

From Cork the Earl of Marlborough marched for Kingſale, before which he arrived on the 2d of October, with his whole army. This town is ſeated upon a river, near the ſea, and divided into three parts, the city, the Old Fort, and the New. It is eſteemed the key of Ireland, at leaſt on the Southern coaſt. Preſently a party was ſent to view the place, whom the Iriſh no ſooner perceived, but they all retired out of the city into the two forts. The Engliſh immediately entered the abandoned town, and found there a number of boats to croſs the river, which ſaved them going two miles about. On the 3d, by break of day, they made an attack on the weather-ſide of the Old Fort, which drawing thither all the ſtrength of the enemy, they ſcaled the other part, where they were leaſt expected. By this means they made themſelves maſters of *The ſiege of Kingſale.*

1690

all the little baſtions; and at the ſame time ſeveral barrels of powder blowing up, about fifty of the Iriſh were deſtroyed, beſides many more wounded. The reſt then retired into an old caſtle, in the middle of the fort, and there ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, having loſt 200 men out of 450.

The Old Fort taken.

The New Fort, which was much the ſtrongeſt of the two, was then ſummoned by Lord Marlborough's order. But Sir Edward Scot, the governor, haughtily anſwered, "It would be time "enough to talk of that a month after he had "opened his trenches." However, when the artillery came up from Cork, in leſs than half the time he was conſtrained to alter his language, and beat a parley. On the 15th, hoſtages were exchanged, and at midnight articles ſigned, by which the middle baſtion was to be delivered up the next morning, and the garriſon, conſiſting of 1100 men, to march out the day after, with arms and baggage, and be conducted to Limerick. The Earl found here a conſiderable magazine, and plenty of proviſions. He would have made this garriſon priſoners of war, as he did the other, but thought it would be of more ſervice to let them conſume the proviſions at Limerick, where was already a ſcarcity, than to be burthened with fellows whom no-body would redeem. Kingſale was found to be a place of more ſtrength than his Lordſhip had before conceived, which made the taking it at that ſeaſon the more glorious; and the effects of theſe conqueſts were ſoon viſible in the reduction of the reſt of Ireland.

And the New.

The Earl ſent again to Ireland.

After his Lordſhip had been at London, and made a report of the ſucceſs of his expedition, he was remanded back to Ireland, where, during the whole winter, he prevented the excurſions of the Iriſh rebels, and raiſed ſeveral forts to put a ſtop to their fury.

The

The Earl of Marlborough attended King William all the following ſummer in Flanders; at the beginning whereof, when his Majeſty was returned to the Hague, he had intelligence that the Moſt Chriſtian King had ſome deſign upon Mons, which he ſoon after beſieged in perſon. King William thereupon gave orders to the Earl of Marlborough, to aſſemble the whole army in order to relieve it; which he executed with ſuch diligence, that if the States General had liſtened to the advice his Majeſty and the Earl gave them, the French, in all probability, would not only have been obliged to raiſe the ſiege, but would alſo have thought themſelves happy if they eſcaped an entire defeat from the confederate army. This was alſo the ſentiment of the late Prince of Vaudemont, who being ſome time afterwards at Loo, and ſpeaking, at his requeſt, to the King, of the characters of his generals, delivered himſelf thus: "Kirk has fire, Lanier judgment, Mackay experience, Colcheſter courage; but there is ſomething in the Earl of Marlborough which I cannot expreſs: there ſeems united in him all thoſe qualities which diſtinguiſh the others; and I have loſt all my ſkill in phyſiognomy, which never yet deceived me, if any ſubject your Majeſty has, will ever attain to ſo high a pitch of military glory, as the combination of ſublime perfections in that nobleman will ſome time or other exalt him to." The King ſmiled in approbation of what the Prince had ſaid; and in anſwer, told him, "That all his characters were very juſt, and that he made no queſtion but the Earl of Marlborough would do his part, to anſwer his Highneſs's prediction."

1691.

The campaign of 1691.

P. de Vaudemont's character of the Earl.

King William's anſwer.

But, whatever opinion the King might entertain of this noble Lord's abilities, he ſtood no leſs expoſed than other courtiers to the viciſſitudes which attend the ſervice of a prince. What the cauſes were of his Lordſhip's falling into diſ-

1692.

His Lordſhip falls into diſgrace.

1692 grace, have rather been gueſſed at than known. It was for the honour of the King, who removed him from his employments, that the Earl of Marlborough ſhould be charged with ſomething; and therefore a project of ſeizing on Dunkirk miſcarrying about that time, this misfortune was obliquely imputed to his Lordſhip: but it is by far more probable, that the Earl's freedom of ſpeech loſt him the good graces of King William: "For, as M. Rouſſet expreſſes himſelf, it was "the only failing, if it may be called a failing, "in that noble Lord, that he could not conceal "his ſentiments, when he thought any thing was "doing which might prove prejudicial, or even "diſhonourable to his country:" he therefore remonſtrated againſt the mighty confidence which King William placed in foreigners, and intimated, that a king of England ought to employ, in the moſt important affairs, his own ſubjects. *For my own part*, ſaid the Earl, *tho' I have no reaſon to complain; yet many of your Majeſty's good ſubjects are ſorry to ſee your royal munificence confined to one or two foreign lords.* The lords here aimed at, were ſuppoſed to be the Earls of Portland and Rochford, both Dutchmen, and high in his Majeſty's favour. That Monarch, being naturally ſplenetick, took this dutiful remonſtrance as a cenſure, turned from him without ſaying a word, and ſent him a meſſage, importing, that he had no further occaſion for his ſervice, but that he gave him leave to retire from court: which the Earl did, after wiſhing to be ſucceeded by a better ſervant, and one that was more concerned for his Majeſty's honour.

Conjectures on that head.

Thus the love of his country, as it engaged him, when Lord Churchill, to quit the ſervice of King James; ſo, when Earl of Marlborough, it obliged him to act in ſuch a manner as drove him from the court of King William. I ſhall not mention the many other conjectures on this head, eſpecially

eſpecially the very improbable one of Biſhop Burnet; becauſe the uncertainty with which they are made, proves what Mr. Macky ſays; that the difference which occaſioned this change, is ſtill a ſecret to the generality of the world. 1692

His Lordſhip continued for ſeveral years out of all employment, tho' warm repreſentations were made in his favour, particularly by his friend Admiral Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of Orford. But ſo far was he at preſent from being reſtored to his Majeſty's good graces, that not long after his diſmiſſion he was put into the Tower, with ſome other peers, upon a falſe accuſation of high treaſon; which was proved to be a conſpiracy of ſome abandoned wretches, who thought that perjury would be acceptable againſt a diſcarded nobleman. Their villany however retorted upon themſelves; for upon a full conviction of it, they were whipped and pilloried. His Lordſhip was afterwards, in 1696, accuſed by Sir John Fenwick of being in King James's intereſt; a calumny that, like the other, did but blacken the inventor, and forward that uncommon ſeverity with which Sir John was proſecuted. *Is ſent to the Tower.* 1696

It was one of Lord Marlborough's peculiar glories, that as he was ever moderate in power, ſo was he always quiet in diſgrace. Tho' he had intereſt and abilities to ſupport himſelf at the head of a party, yet he did not ſo much as appear in any, when he knew that his calm retirement would be more acceptable to his Prince. Merit is ſeldom apt to thruſt itſelf forwards, but, content with being known, waits to be called into action, when thoſe who uſurp its place on leſs difficult occaſions, are found unequal to ſome great or delicate taſk. Such was the caſe when the Duke of Glouceſter, the preſumptive heir of the crown, was on the point of being taken out of the hands of the women, and put under the care of ſome experienced nobleman, who might inſtruct him in 1698

1698

Made governor of the Duke of Glouceſter.

in all that became a prince of his high birth to know. The court were in general ſurpriſed, when, tho' many perſons of the higheſt diſtinction were candidates for that office, after ſome deliberation his Majeſty raiſed the Earl of Marlborough to the important charge; and they were the more amazed when they heard the King, at the inſtant the young Duke was put into the Earl's hands, ſay to him, *My Lord, teach him but to know what you are, and my nephew cannot want accompliſhments.* Biſhop Burnet was at the ſame time nominated his Highneſs's preceptor; tho' not with ſuch general approbation as Lord Marlborough was received: for the Houſe of Commons debated whether he was a fit perſon for ſo important a charge, and his friends carried it in his favour only on this condition, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Earl of Marlborough, and the Earl of Dorſet, ſhould ſuperintend his conduct. The ſame evening that Lord Marlborough was appointed the Duke of Glouceſter's governor, he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and took his place accordingly.

1700

The Duke of Glouceſter dies.

The Earl diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the utmoſt integrity and care: but Divine Providence, about two years after, took from the Engliſh nation that hopeful young Prince, who had already begun to give convincing tokens of his improvement under ſo excellent a tutor.

And King William.

King William did not long ſurvive his nephew. In his laſt years, however, he had given inconteſtable marks of his eſteem for the Earl of Marlborough. Three times ſucceſſively he had conſtituted him one of the lords juſtices, during his abſence beyond the ſeas, and at the cloſe of his reign, appointed him embaſſador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, as well as general of foot, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in Holland. It is alſo

Earl of Marlborough made plenipotentiary to the States, and commander in chief of the Engliſh forces abroad.

ſaid

ſaid that the laſt time his Majeſty was in Holland (when the Earl was with him, and reviewed the troops under his command) he adviſed the States General to treat this nobleman with the utmoſt deference, as he would be the principal favourite of the Princeſs his ſucceſſor. For the ſame reaſon his Majeſty communicated to him the projects he had formed for reducing the exorbitant power of Lewis XIV. And thus, from the confidence of King William, on his death-bed, the Earl of Marlborough paſſed on to the higheſt degree of favour with the ſucceeding Queen, to whom the dying Monarch recommended him, *as the fitteſt perſon in all her dominions to conduct her armies, or preſide in her councils; as being a man of a cool head, and a warm heart.*

1700

1701

Her majeſty Queen Anne was hardly ſeated on the throne, before ſhe ſent this noble Lord, with the ſame high character he had borne the year before from the late King, to the Hague, where his Lordſhip made the following harangue in the aſſembly of the States General.

1702

Goes a ſecond time embaſſador extraordinary to the States.

High and mighty Lords,

His harangue.

" AS it has pleaſed Almighty God in his providence, to take to himſelf his late " Majeſty King William, of glorious memory, " to the great loſs, not only of his own kingdoms, and the dominions of your High Mighti" neſſes, but alſo of all Europe; the Queen " my miſtreſs, who, by the ſame divine favour, " hath ſucceeded him in the throne of her anceſtors, as your High Mightineſſes have been " already informed by her letter, hath at the " ſame time laid her commands on me to teſtify " to your High Mightineſſes, the great affliction " her Majeſty is in on that account, and to acquaint you how ſenſible ſhe is of the loſs which " will be thereby particularly ſuſtained by your " High Mightineſſes.

" Her

1702

" Her Majeſty's firſt care, on her acceſſion to
" the throne, was to give your High Mightineſ-
" ſes to underſtand the ſincere deſire and ſtrong
" inclination ſhe has to cultivate the ſame union,
" the ſame cordial amity, and ſtrict correſpon-
" dence which ſubſiſted throughout the laſt reign;
" perſuaded, as ſhe is, that there is nothing in
" the world more uſeful, more advantageous, or
" more conducive to the proſperity of both na-
" tions, whoſe intereſts are the ſame.

" Her Majeſty therefore hath commanded me
" to aſſure your High Mightineſſes, that ſhe is
" reſolved to contribute conſtantly, and to the ut-
" moſt extent of her power, to the advancement
" and augmentation of that union, that friend-
" ſhip, and that correſpondence, and to make it
" the inviolable rule of her government.

" Her Majeſty hath further commanded me to
" aſſure your High Mightineſſes, that ſhe will not
" only obſerve, and is ready to execute the trea-
" ties of alliance made by the kings, her prede-
" ceſſors, with your High Mightineſſes; but ſhe
" likewiſe offers to renew and to confirm them, as
" alſo to concur with you in all the meaſures ta-
" ken by the late King of glorious memory, in
" conformity to the ſaid treaties.

" Her Majeſty is likewiſe diſpoſed to enter into
" all other alliances and engagements which ſhall
" be thought neceſſary for the intereſt of the two
" nations, the preſervation of the liberties of
" Europe, and the reducing the exceſſive power of
" France within its juſt bounds.

" With this view her Majeſty engages inſtant-
" ly, and without delay, to join your High Migh-
" tineſſes with all her force, by ſea and land,
" againſt whoever ſhall oppoſe ſo juſt an enter-
" prize.

" And her ſaid Majeſty, as a farther teſtimony
" of her zeal, has authorized me to take, in

" concert

" concert with your High Mightineſſes, the mea- 1713
" ſures neceſſary to enter upon action.

" Theſe are the motives that have engaged her " Majeſty to command me to make ſuch haſte hi- " ther, and to give your High Mightineſſes all " poſſible aſſurances of what, on her part, I have " now declared, without waiting the ordinary " forms. And I eſteem it the higheſt point of " good fortune, that her Majeſty has done me the " honour to entruſt me with this commiſſion; be- " cauſe it has furniſhed me with ſo favourable an " occaſion of manifeſting to your High Mightineſ- " ſes the zeal which I have for your ſervice."

The preſident's anſwer

M. Dyckveldt, who preſided that day in the aſſembly of the States, anſwered his Excellency in ſuch a manner, as convinced him that their High Mightineſſes were reſolved to enter into all the meaſures of her Britannick Majeſty, and that the preſence of no miniſter could be ſo agreeable to them as that of his Lordſhip, at ſo delicate a conjuncture. All the artifices of France, that were made uſe of on this occaſion, to draw off the States from their engagements with England, did but cement the alliance more ſtrongly; which ſteadfaſtneſs, by French writers themſelves, is attributed to Lord Marlborough's diligence and wiſdom, who in the conferences he had with the deputies of the States, conducted affairs with ſuch addreſs, that tho' he ſtaid in Holland but a few days, the number of troops which each of the Maritime Powers were to furniſh, and the quotas of the other Princes who were entered into the grand alliance, were ſettled: ſo that his Lordſhip returned with an exact adjuſtment of every thing relating to the armament by ſea and land, before it was known in ſeveral parts of the kingdom that he had entered on his negotiation. A tranſaction which was almoſt an infallible preſage of the ſucceſs which was

The quotas ſettled.

1702 was to follow; ſince meaſures ſo prudently concerted, could not fail of being as well put in execution, by him who had been their principal author; and an alliance ſo well cemented, and ſo ſtrictly united by the bonds of friendſhip and intereſt, gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of its effecting thoſe ends for which it was concluded.

The Earl of Marlborough made general of the confederate armies

Amongſt the many important affairs which were now upon the carpet, the Earl of Marlborough kept his attention fixed on ſettling the command of the army; that when the ſeveral bodies of which it was compoſed, were aſſembled, it might be put under the direction of one commander in chief. This honourable poſt his Lordſhip obtained for himſelf, with a ſalary of 10,000*l. per annum*; it being yielded to him as well out of the reſpect due to his Miſtreſs, as from the great opinion conceived of his experience in the art of war; and to which the recommendation of the late King contributed not a little, by giving the foreign powers a juſt idea of his abilities. And as he was perſuaded, that a miſunderſtanding among the generals might produce very miſchievous effects, he endeavoured to prevent this evil before he left Holland; taking all imaginable pains to fix the point of pre-eminence, which equally concerned his Miſtreſs's honour and his own. There were only the Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck, and the Earl of Athlone, who had been employed as generals in the war under King William, and who could diſpute with him the command: but their High Mightineſſes having convinced them, that there was a neceſſity of having a commander in chief, they readily agreed to receive orders from the Engliſh general.

Again in England.

His Lordſhip then returned into England, aſſiſted at the funeral of the late King, and was one of the committee appointed to inſpect his papers, upon a falſe inſinuation that his Majeſty had intended to exclude his ſiſter-in-law from the ſucceſſion:

ceſſion: and upon the 23d of April, the Earl and Counteſs of Marlborough walked in the proceſſion, according to their rank, at the Queen's coronation. Her Majeſty then made ſome alteration among her ſervants; advanced Lord Godolphin to the head of the treaſury, and made the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges ſecretaries of ſtate. As there had been a coldneſs between her and the late King, which continued till his laſt illneſs, it was imagined there would have been a thorough change in the miniſtry; and it was owing to the moderation of the Earl of Marlborough, whoſe council now prevailed in almoſt every thing, that the greateſt part of King William's faithful ſervants were continued in office. It was alſo owing to him, in conjunction with the Dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, and the Earl of Pembroke, that war was declared againſt France on the 4th of May, when the majority of the council had been for delaying it longer: but ſo were things ordered by the vigilance of thoſe in power, that the Emperor and the States-General publiſhed their declarations the ſame day as the Queen of Great Britain, tho' the French King did not publiſh his till the 3d of July. 1702

War declared againſt France.

We muſt now leave the Earl of Marlborough, and the military preparations, to ſurvey the motives of the following war, in which the genius of our hero ſhone forth with ſuch aſtoniſhing luſtre. I have writ ſomething on this ſubject in the hiſtory of Prince Eugene; but what follows is more particular.

When Lewis XIV concluded the peace of Ryſwick, in the year 1697, it was only to retrieve the loſſes he had ſuſtained in the preceding war, and to be ready for another of more importance. Charles II, King of Spain, was in ſo declining a condition, that the news of his death was every day expected. As he had no child, Lewis laid claim to the ſucceſſion for the Dauphin, his ſon

Origin of the war.

1702 by Thereſa the ſiſter of Charles. The Emperor, as head of the houſe of Auſtria, had alſo his pretenſions; and the Elector of Bavaria had an inconteſtable right for the Prince Electoral his ſon, whom he had by the Archdutcheſs Mary Antonietta, daughter of Margaret Thereſa of Auſtria, younger ſiſter of the Dauphin's mother, and who married the Emperor Leopold in 1666. It was not the intereſt of either England or Holland, that the entire ſucceſſion to the King of Spain's dominion ſhould fall to either of theſe three Princes; ſince nothing but maintaining a balance of power between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, could ſecure the liberties of Europe. For this reaſon they concerted a project of dividing the eſtates of the Spaniſh monarchy among theſe competitors; or at leaſt they came into the project of ſuch a diviſion, upon its being propoſed to them by Count Tallard, the French embaſſador to King William, and who accompanied him to Holland in 1698. The Elector of Bavaria, who, as governor of the Netherlands, reſided uſually at Bruſſels, came alſo *incognito* to the King's ſeat at Loo, where the treaty of partition was ſoon concluded. It gave the Emperor only the Dutchy of Milan, and that upon condition that he and his ſons ſhould for ever renounce the reſt of the ſucceſſion. The Dauphin had Naples and Sicily, with all their dependencies; and the reſt of the Spaniſh dominions were to devolve to the Prince of Bavaria, whoſe father was to have the regency of them during his ſon's minority.

The treaty of partition.

Diſliked by the Emperor.

This treaty, thus concluded and ratified, was communicated to the Emperor, who, far from being ſatisfied with the contents of it, alledged, that as the Dutchy of Milan was a fief of the Empire, it ought naturally to revert to him after the King of Spain's death, and therefore the partition gave him nothing that was not already his right. But the 9th article, by which France, England, and

and Holland, engaged mutually to employ all their forces againſt whoever ſhould oppoſe the execution of this treaty, was what chiefly provoked his Imperial Majeſty. It is ſtill a queſtion if Lewis XIV ever acted ſincerely in this affair; and indeed there is a great probability, that the whole was but a feint to amuſe the Engliſh and the Dutch. By making a propoſal that would of courſe engage the other powers to diſarm, he thought himſelf certain of his own project: for he kept up the ſame number of troops after the peace as before, and under the pretext of inſtructing the Duke of Burgundy in the art of war, held them in breath by frequent encampments. Mean while the Engliſh forces were reduced to 7000 men, and theſe were thought by many too great a number. 1702

Diſconcerted by the death of the Prince of Bavaria.

An unforſeen event ſoon overthrew this new ſyſtem. The King of Spain revived, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, his chief heir, died at Munich. No ſooner did Lewis XIV hear this, but he reſolved to try his utmoſt to ſecure the whole Spaniſh ſucceſſion for one of his grandſons. The enterprize was difficult: the authentick renunciation of the late Queen his ſpouſe, who was given him only on condition that none of her children ſhould ſucceed to the Spaniſh monarchy, was entirely againſt him on the one hand; and, on the other, he dreaded the reſentment of England and Holland, and the intrigues of the court of Vienna. To remedy all this, he enters on a new treaty, to appearance very much in favour of the Arch-Duke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon; and at the ſame time ſpares no coſt nor labour to gain over the court of Madrid in favour of the Duke of Anjou, his own grandſon. What may not a prince do, who is at the ſame time liberal and rich? a three years peace had reſtored the finances of Lewis XIV, who made ſo good uſe of

A ſecond treaty of partition.

1702

his money among the Spaniſh miniſters, as a little to diſconcert the Imperial intrigues.

Lewis brings over moſt of the Spaniſh miniſtry.

The King of Spain, as is natural to ſuppoſe, had more inclination for his own houſe than for that of Bourbon, but had not reſolution enough to reſiſt the importunities of his miniſters, who, enlightened by French gold, now ſaw the great inconveniencies of diſmembring the Spaniſh monarchy. One article, however, Charles could not get over, and that was his ſiſter's renunciation. He dreaded the torments of purgatory, if he ſhould connive at ſuch a piece of perjury in the French court. The holy father was to determine this caſe of conſcience, and Pope Innocent XII, on being conſulted, named a congregation to examine the affair, and pronounce a definitive ſentence. Theology and avarice are not ſo incompatible, as never to be found in the ſame men. Lewis knew it well, and poured down ſuch a ſhower of gold upon the ſacred congregation, as quite cleared up the underſtandings of the doctors, and made them decide for the nullity of the renunciation. They even declared that his Holineſs was obliged, in conſcience, to uſe his paternal exhortations with the King of Spain, to incline him to make a will in favour of a ſon of France; and the Pope had too much regard for the eldeſt ſon of the church, not to beſtow on him this mark of affection.

The court of Rome decides in his favour.

He is oppoſed by Cardinal Portocarrero.

The papal nuncio ſolicits the King of Spain, and muſt undoubtedly have ſucceeded, if Cardinal Portocarrero, who continued as yet in the Imperial intereſt, had not parried off the blow. Lewis, who knew what influence this Prelate had on the mind of his maſter, ſpared no expence to gain him over. Portocarrero was ſo firm to the Queen, and ſhe to the houſe of Auſtria, that the taſk was found difficult. However, all-potent money at laſt prevailed, by convincing firſt the Cardinal's confeſſor, and afterwards the Cardinal himſelf,

himſelf, who yielded to the reaſons of his ſpiritual guide. From this time he caballed on the ſide of France; and the poor King, entirely under the direction of his eminence, ſigned a will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the Dauphin. The Emperor and his council ſaw all this, but ſtill continued irreſolute: they raiſed troops, and quartered them on the ſpot; while Lewis marched a part of his to the frontiers of Spain, to be ready to enter at the firſt ſignal. The Marquis de Villars, his ambaſſador at Vienna, informed him of all that paſſed there, and Lewis took his meaſures accordingly.

1702

Whom at laſt he brings over.

On the 1ſt of November, 1700, died Charles II, King of Spain. Immediately the council of regency, in which Cardinal Portocarrero preſided, diſpatched a letter to the Moſt Chriſtian King, reciting the contents of the will, and conjuring his Majeſty to ſatisfy the wiſhes of ſo many nations, who longed to have his grandſon for their ſovereign. How great ſoever was Lewis's joy on this occaſion, he appeared exceedingly grieved for the death of his brother-in-law, and with a grave countenance told the Spaniſh embaſſador, that he bare a great part in the publick loſs which all Europe had ſuſtained; that for the reſt, as he never doubted the equity of his late Majeſty, he would endeavour to comply with the requeſt of his mourning ſubjects; but muſt firſt take ſuch precautions as were abſolutely neceſſary in ſo delicate a conjuncture. This monarch even diſſembled ſo far, as to ſummon a council, to enquire whether or no he ſhould accept the will: but as all this was concerted, we may imagine the voices were not much divided.

King of Spain dies.

Lewis diſſembles.

It was ſome time before the Emperor knew of Charles's death, and that his will had been accepted by the French court. Count Sinzendorf, the Imperial envoy extraordinary at Paris, could not poſſibly ſend a courier to Vienna, becauſe

Conceals the news from the Imperial court.

1702

Lewis had iſſued an order to the poſt-maſters, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be furniſhed with horſes. But at laſt, when the final reſolutions were taken, Sinzendorf had leave to diſpatch an expreſs, to inform his maſter of all that had paſſed; who immediately called a council on the occaſion, in which vigorous meaſures were reſolved on.

The Maritime Powers reſent his accepting the will.

The greateſt difficulty Lewis had, was to make the Maritime Powers reliſh this proceeding. For this purpoſe he ſent Count Tallard to King William, and the Counts Briord and d' Avaux to the States-General. But all the ſubtilties of the French miniſters could not prevent the indignation of theſe Powers, who well ſaw that it was not for the ſake of peace, as they pretended, but in order to oppreſs the liberty of Europe, that the King of France had accepted this will, contrary to the moſt ſolemn engagements. They were much more inclined to liſten to the Emperor, who had ſent Count Wratiſlau to London, to engage King William in a league againſt France. Of this there was the more need, as the old Prince of Vaudemont, governor of the Milaneſe for Spain, had already ſubmitted to the Duke of Anjou, under the name of Philip V. There was alſo a treaty on foot between France and Savoy; and the Elector of Bavaria, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, with the Elector of Cologn his brother, had ſtruck up an alliance with the French Monarch. A diſmal proſpect this for the beginning of a war, when with all theſe princes, and even Spain itſelf, in the grand confederacy, ſcarce were the allies a match for France about four years before!

The Milaneſe and the Netherlands ſubmit to the Duke of Anjou.

But, what was yet worſe, tho' England and Holland were ſufficiently inclined to take up arms againſt France, the States-General, environed by the numerous armies which that crown had ſent into Flanders, thought it prudent to temporize, and

and made no difficulty of acknowledging the Duke of Anjou as lawful ſucceſſor of Charles II. Even King William followed their example the ſucceeding April, and the Emperor was left alone one whole campaign, except with what aſſiſtance he had among the Princes of the Empire, from whom there was a defection of the two electors above-mentioned, and the Duke of Wolfembuttle. 1702 *The ſtates and King William acknowledge him.*

The ſucceſs of this campaign was greater than had been expected. Prince Eugene, ſuperior to the French at Carpi and Chairi, remained maſter in Italy: and an event happened before the end of the year, which renewed the old alliance. King James, diſtinguiſhed by the violence of his ſhort reign, immortal by his fall, and happy in the generoſity of his protector, died in thoſe ſentiments that would have preſerved his crown, had he practiſed them when he wore it; declared his deteſtation of reſtraint in matters of religion, and exhorted his ſon never to follow that damnable maxim. Such, as one obſerves, is the force of truth, when men become capable to receive it! the ſhadow title of the deceaſed king muſt not long lie dormant, and Lewis XIV. (who perhaps foreſaw that a war with the Maritime Powers would be inevitable, before he could eſtabliſh the crown of Spain on his grandſon's head) in haſte confers it on the pretended Prince of Wales, who moſt pompouſly ſucceeds to the honorary nothing of his father. This acknowledgment rouſes up the indignation of all Engliſh Proteſtants, who ſeem more ſenſible of the affront than their Monarch, whom it ſo nearly concerns. All the counties, cities, and boroughs declare their reſentment, and undertake to aſſert the rights of their King. *K. James dies.* *The Pretender proclaimed.*

It was no wonder that Count Wratiſlau now went on ſucceſsfully with his negotiation, and that the King of Great Britain, juſtly provoked againſt the *A new alliance againſt France.*

1702 the French Monarch, concluded an alliance with his Imperial Majeſty. King William had too much intereſt in Holland not to bring the ſtates into the ſame alliance, irritated as they were at the progreſs of the French troops, which had now overſpread not only the Spaniſh Netherlands, but the biſhoprick of Liege and the electorate of Cologn; which almoſt hemm'd in the dominions of their High-Mightineſſes, and rendered them every hour expoſed to an invaſion. His Britannick Majeſty had juſt cemented this triple alliance, when he died at Kenſington on the 8th of March, 1702; happy in having been, for near 30 years together, the chief ſupport of the liberty of Europe againſt the encroachments of Lewis XIV! happy in having recommended a general to his ſucceſſor equally zealous in the ſame common cauſe, and more fortunate in the defence of it! ſuch was the Hero of theſe ſheets, as every Engliſhman knows, every foreigner owns. To him we ſhall now return, after having taken a ſhort view of the progreſs of both armies, before he put himſelf at the head of the Allies.

King William dies.

Keyſerſwaert beſieged.

All things being ſettled as before related, the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert was undertaken by the Earl of Marlborough's advice. This was one of the places into which the King of France had put a garriſon, under the name of Auxiliary troops of the circle of Burgundy. Keyſerſwaert is a little town on the Rhine, two leagues below Duſſeldorp, and dependent on the electorate of Cologn: It lies in the form of a parallelogram, having only one ſtreet running from end to end, defended on the land-ſide by three baſtions and four ravelins, and by two baſtions on the ſide of the Rhine. The point of an iſland, which lies below the place, is capable of being made either advantageous or prejudicial to it, according to the hands it is in. The Marquis de Blainville commanded there a garriſon of ſix battalions. A detachment

1702

ment of Engliſh and Dutch troops, commanded by the Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck, had blocked him up from the month of March; but the ſiege thereof did not begin till the 18th of April, two days after general Dopf and the Baron de Heyden had inveſted it with the cavalry. It is needleſs to recite the journals of this long ſiege, in which the Earl of Marlborough was only indirectly concerned.

After being blockaded by the Pr. of Naſſau Saarbruck.

Twenty thouſand French troops, under the Marſhal de Boufflers, were aſſembled near Ruremonde, where they waited the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy, who was to command the army of France. As ſoon as an account of the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert arrived at the French court, the Marſhal had orders to quit that poſt, and to march with all his forces to ſurprize a body of troops which all the Allies had at Santen, under the command of the Count de Tilly. M. de Boufflers marched to Wachtendonck, from whence he decamped the 25th of April, and arrived on the 27th about noon at Alpen. The ſame day the Earl of Athlone arrived at Nimeguen with a body of horſe, and, as he was intent on obſerving the motions of M. de Boufflers, marched on without loſs of time, leaving behind him ſuch horſes as were jaded. M. de Boufflers advancing with all the expedition he was able, and covering as much as poſſible his march, drew very near Santen. Count Tilly, who had received advice of his march by detached parties, decamped in the night with all poſſible expedition; which he did the more eaſily, having had the precaution to ſend away his baggage and heavy artillery towards the Rhine. He left however in his camp ſome forage and ammunition, which he had not time to carry away. Within a league of Cleves he joined the Earl of Athlone. There happened in this march a ſkirmiſh between the van of M. de Boufflers army and the rear of the Allies, in which the latter loſt fifty, and the French

The French army aſſembles under M. Boufflers.

Who marches to ſurprize Count Tilly.

And miſcarries in his deſign.

1702

French a hundred and fifty men. The Marſhal having miſcarried in his deſign, advanced on the ſide of Bonne, and began to commit hoſtilities in the countries of Cleves and Juliers.

Count Tallard faces Duſſeldorp, and threatens to bombard it.

The Count de Tallard, who commanded the troops of the circle of Burgundy, in the mean time drew five battalions out of Rheinberg, and with a body of 10,000 men appeared before Duſſeldorp, with a deſign to bombard that city. The Electreſs Palatine ſent to let him know that ſhe commanded there, and deſired to be informed if he had expreſs orders to bombard the place. Count Tallard diſpatched the contents of this meſſage to the Duke of Burgundy, who was now arrived in the army; and having received his anſwer, the Marſhal demanded that a fort, which commanded a bridge of boats, ſhould be raſed; that the bridge ſhould be demoliſhed; that free paſſage ſhould be given him into the country of Bergue, and that the city of Duſſeldorp ſhould pay him 100,000 crowns. The Princeſs abſolutely refuſed the money, and the free paſſage; nor conſented to the other articles, but on condition that Tallard ſhould agree, on his part, to demoliſh the fort, and break down the bridge before Bonne: and as the Allies prepared to bombard this latter place, in caſe the French proceeded to bombard Duſſeldorp, Count Tallard received orders to deſiſt.

Marches to the relief of Keyſerſwaert.

He then marched with his troops as high as Keyſerſwaert, the Rhine being between him and the Allies, and erected batteries to incommode the troops employed in the ſiege. The Prince of Anhalt continued to make a terrible fire upon that place; but his Highneſs was not able to deſtroy a bridge of boats, whereby a communication was preſerved between the town and Count Tallard: ſo that the latter could throw into the town whatever ſuccours it needed, and refreſh the garriſon

riſon as he thought fit. This it was that rendered the ſiege ſo long and ſo bloody: for tho' the Allies had battered that fortreſs with 48 pieces of cannon, and 30 mortars, and had reduced all the fortifications, and even the houſes, to aſhes; yet ſo many obſtacles were thrown in their way by the governor and Count Tallard, that they could not attack the covert-way till the 9th of June. They at the ſame time attacked a ravelin, in which they made a lodgment, notwithſtanding the inceſſant fire from the place, and the enemy's ſpringing three mines. After this ſucceſs there was nothing to hinder their erecting batteries on the covert-way, and thence making ſuch a breach as would enable them to take the town by ſtorm. On the 15th therefore M. de Blainville beat a parley, and ſurrendered the place on very honourable terms. The Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck, Lieutenant-General Dopf, the Prince of Anhalt Deſſau, Major-General Dedem, the Prince of Holſtein Beeck, Major-General Rantzau, and the Brigadiers Capel, Wilkes, and Carle, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this ſiege, and the firſt eſpecially acquired great reputation.

1702

That town taken.

While this paſſed on the Rhine, the main army of France, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy aſſiſted by M. de Boufflers, 20 Lieutenant-Generals, and 30 Major-Generals, threatened Guelderland, and the reſt of the United Provinces, with an invaſion like that of the year 1672. We have taken notice that this army was encamped at Santen, where the Duke of Burgundy arrived on the 3d of May. The main army of the Allies, commanded by the Earl of Athlone, was encamped at Clarinbeck, near Cleves, where being joined by a body of Engliſh troops, it became 30 or 35,000 ſtrong, that of France being more numerous by a third.

Boufflers attempts to ſurprize the Earl of Athlone.

The eyes of Europe were fixed on theſe two armies, as the fate of it ſeemed to depend on their reſpective

1702

reſpective ſucceſs. Burgundy was only a ſcholar to his deputy Boufflers, who, as well as Athlone, was a general of great experience. As the French had failed of ſurprizing Count Tilly, the Marſhal was deſirous his pupil ſhould ſtrike a more important blow. He formed a deſign therefore to ſurprize Nimeguen, or at leaſt to beat up the Earl of Athlone's quarters, and to cut off his communication with the town. As he was ſuperior in number, the thing did not appear very difficult, and the republick thought it ſelf in ſome danger, on ſeeing the enemy at her gates.

Who retires ſafe to Nimeguen.

But the Earl of Athlone, having received advice that M. de Boufflers was in full march, and advanced towards Gock, between Niers and the wood of Cleves, reſolved in council to move that day, with the whole army. As the horſes belonging to the artillery and carriages were at graſs, it was 8 o'clock at night before they could begin their march. He immediately detached Major-General Rhoo, with 6 ſquadrons of horſe, and 2 regiments of dragoons, to prevent the enemy by poſſeſſing himſelf of an eminence near Mooker-Hedye: but the dragoons miſſing their way in the night took the road of Grave, from whence they returned the next day. The Earl however detached afterwards the Duke of Wirtemberg and Lord Cuts, with 10 or 12 ſquadrons, to ſupport Major-General Rhoo: but the Duke had the misfortune not to find him, and was forced to take poſt on another eminence. Athlone followed him with all the cavalry, having directed the infantry to take a ſhorter road, which led directly to Nimeguen; and ſcarce had his lordſhip got out of a narrow paſs, at the head of the horſe, before he received advice from the Duke of Wirtemberg, that ſome ſquadrons of the enemy began to appear. The Earl thereupon ſent to the Duke, to deſire him to obſerve their numbers, and to retire in caſe he found them too ſtrong;

ſtrong; which he did, after diſcovering that they were 25 or 30 ſquadrons. 1702

Athlone then drew up his horſe in order of battle, and there happened ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhing between him and the enemy. As he advanced to ſuſtain the Duke of Wirtemberg, the French made a halt, and his lordſhip continued his retreat in good order, till he reached his infantry. The French followed him leiſurely, which made him at firſt apprehend that it was not the whole army, but a detachment only. A little after, however, perceiving they made ſome ſignals with powder, the Earl, with the advice of the other Generals, reſolved to march ſtrait to Nimeguen: he ſent alſo 2 battalions, of the Prince of Orange's guards, and 2 other battalions, to Grave. The French, perceiving his deſign, and all their cavalry being come up, quickened their march, and came very cloſe to the Earl, about the height of St. Anne. They even diſordered a little both his horſe and foot; but theſe being quickly ſuſtained the enemy were puſhed in their turn. At laſt, his lordſhip finding they were much ſuperior in number, and that both their infantry and artillery were come up, he continued to retire within the works of Nimeguen, and thereby ſaved his army. He afterwards tranſported his baggage, and part of his horſe, croſs the Waal, and then poſted his infantry in the works, they conſiſting of 20 battalions only. In this retreat the Engliſh brought up the rear, and retired in good order, putting a ſtop to the houſhold troops of France.

After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes.

While things paſſed in this manner on the Rhine and the Waal, all things were in motion in Spaniſh and Dutch Flanders. The French, who were in poſſeſſion of the former, buſied themſelves in caſting up lines, in order to cover them from the attempts of the Allies; but having carried them within reach of the cannon of Lillo,

Progreſs of the French lines ſtopt by the governor of Lillo.

1702

the commanding officer there fired upon their pioneers, and obliged them to quit their work. On the other ſide, the governor of Sas Van Ghent, in the night between the 9th and 10th of April, ſent a detachment of his garriſon, under the direction of engineers, with proper inſtruments, and orders to build a fort upon the dike between Sas and the village of Arſene, that he might be able to lay the country under water, in caſe of neceſſity, and to cover Sas from a bombardment. They worked with ſuch diligence on this deſign, that the place, by the 19th, was in a poſture of defence.

A new Fort erected near Sas Van Ghent.

Between the 8th and 9th of May, in the night, the French made an attempt on certain little forts in the neighbourhood of Hulſt. The ſmalleſt they ſeized without trouble, in which were only a ſerjeant and ſix men, who abandoned it on their approach: but when afterwards, with 400 men, they attacked the reſt, they were repulſed with loſs.

The French attack the Forts near Hulſt.

Much about this time, General Coehorn, who in the laſt war had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Namur, and well ſupported his reputation in the beginning of this, attacked, took, and razed the lines of Flanders, with all their redoubts, between Fort Iſabel and Fort St. Donat. He alſo took the laſt mentioned place, where they had a garriſon of 700 men, and laid all the neighbouring country under contribution.

General Coehorn razes the French lines.

To return to Nimeguen. While the French, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, pillaged the city of Cleves, and deſtroyed its fine park; M. de Groveſtein, colonel of the regiment of Friezeland, marched with a detachment from the cavalry of 300 men, to reconnoitre the enemy. He met with a party of their horſe, conſiſting of 400 men, and reſolving to attack them, ordered his men not to fire, till having received theirs, he fell on ſword in hand, put them to

M. Groveſten routs a French Party.

flight,

flight and purſued them for half an hour, till he came to a defile: then he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, having had 76 men killed and wounded, and having himſelf received 6 or 7 ſlight cuts. The French loſt more than 150 men, and had 3 officers taken priſoners. 1702

All this was only a prelude to the campaign, and ſerved but to introduce events more conſiderable. The French, after having been victors ſo long, were to be vanquiſhed in their turn, and to loſe all their conqueſts. Marlborough takes on him the command, unites the ſtrength of the Allies that had hitherto been divided, ſpreads terror wherever he goes, never engages without defeating the enemy, never beſieges without taking the place!

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK II.

From his taking upon him the command of the confederate army, to his victory over the French and Bavarians at Hockſtedt in 1704.

1702

The Earl of Marlborough marches towards the French.

THE ſtate of the campaign, before the Earl of Marlborough took the field, was related at the end of the preceeding book. That nobleman being arrived at the Hague, with the character of embaſſador from the Queen of England, and Generaliſſimo of her troops, aſſured the States-general of the affection and ſupport of that Princeſs; upon which the States gave orders to their Generals, to acknowledge him for commander

mander in chief, and to obey his orders. The Earl of Athlone, whoſe late conduct had brought him into high reputation, was ſet on by the other Dutch Generals to inſiſt on his quality of field-marſhal, and to require alternate command with the Engliſh Captain-General. But the States obliged him to ſubmit; and when the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Nimeguen, on the 2d of July, the Earl of Athlone and General Dopf came the next day to compliment him, and to receive his orders. Marlborough aſſembled there an army of 60,000 men, compoſed of 19 battalions of the troops which had been employed in the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, thoſe of Lunenberg and Heſſe, and the Engliſh forces from Breda under Major-General Lumley. With theſe, and ſome other bodies which joined him, 62 cannon, 8 mortars and haubitzers, and 24 pontons, he encamped at Deckenberg. Having held there a council of war of all the General officers, in order to concert the operations for the remainder of the campaign, he cauſed the army of the Allies to croſs the Maeſe near Grave, and encamped within two leagues and an half of the French, who were entrenched between Gock and Genep, and ſuperior in force to the Allies. 1702

The French retreat before him.

After ſeveral marches, and other motions to provoke the French to a battle, his Lordſhip evidently perceived that they were as deſirous to avoid, as he was to come to an engagement, which they ſhewed by retreating continually, or by poſting themſelves in inacceſſible places. He therefore reſolved, in concert with the deputies of the States-general, to drive the enemy from ſuch places as they had on the Maeſe, in order to ſecure the navigation of that river, and the communication with Maeſtricht. At Gravenbroeck, during theſe marches, they took a caſtle, ſeated in a moraſs, and ſurrounded by a double moat, with good paliſadoes. Lord Cuts commanded the attack.

Gravenbroeck caſtle taken.

1702 Soon after General Schultz, with a ſmall detachment, 6 cannon, and 2 haubitzers, took the town and caſtle of Wert.

It would be tedious to relate all that paſſed in this campaign, while marſhal Boufflers retreated to ſhun, and the Earl of Marlborough purſued to force him to, a battle. This inglorious conduct ſo loſt the marſhal with his maſter, that he never was cordially truſted after, tho' he had before very great reputation. At laſt when Marlborough ſat down before Venlo, on the 29th of Auguſt, the Duke of Burgundy, who did not come under the tuition of M. Boufflers to ſee the French towns taken, immediately ſet out on his return to Paris. Venlo is ſituated on the banks of a little iſle, which is formed by the junction of the Maeſe with the rivulet of Staven. In the year 1558, the firſt bombs were thrown againſt this place; and in a little time after they were with greater ſucceſs made uſe of at the ſiege of Watchtendonck. It was now defended by 6 battalions of foot, 2 ſquadrons of horſe, 38 cannon, and 12 mortars, all furniſhed with plenty of ammunition. The troops employed in the ſiege were 32 battalions, 36 ſquadrons, 64 cannon, 22 mortars, and haubitzers, and a great number of cohorns. This place being inveſted by the Dutch and Pruſſian horſe, and a ſufficient number of foot being arrived, they began to break ground on the 29 of Auguſt. The Engliſh, under the command of Lord Cuts, opened the trenches in the quarters of Baron Obdam, general of the horſe; and the troops of the King of Pruſſia did the ſame on the other ſide of the Maeſe, without the loſs of a man. The Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck commanded the ſiege, and General Coehorn had the direction of the attacks.

The ſiege of Venlo.

Venlo taken. The batteries being got ready, they fired upon the place on the 5th of September, with all the fury imaginable. They began on the 6th the attack

tack of fort St. Michael, which is on the other side of the river; and the Engliſh, under Lord Cuts, carried it by aſſault on the 8th, having entered it together with the French, after driving them from the covert-way. The garriſon was conducted to Boiſleduc and Nimeguen, and they immediately erected a battery in the fort, from whence they played with great fury on the town, which was taken on the 12th, by a very ſingular accident. The beſiegers, having received news of the taking of Landau, were drawn up in order of battle, to make three general diſcharges of the artillery and ſmall arms, according to cuſtom. The beſieged, who were already in diſtreſs, obſerving this, and conceiving they were about to make a general aſſault, immediately beat a parley; and hoſtages being given on each ſide, the capitulation was ſigned on the 13th, and the garriſon conducted to Antwerp. 1702

Bravery of ſeveral officers.

Lord Cuts, on this occaſion, behaved with a great deal of prudence, as well as bravery, in which latter he never was deficient. The Earl of Huntingdon, the Prince of Hanover, (afterwards Duke of York, and biſhop of Oſnabrug) Colonel Blood and M. de Martinerie, both engineers, and the Prince of Anhalt, were all taken notice of by the journaliſts of thoſe times, for their gallant and intrepid behaviour.

The French attempt Hulſt, but without ſucceſs.

While the Allies were beſieging Venlo, the French attempted to ſurprize Hulſt in Flanders. The Marquis of Bedmar, having aſſembled all the forces under his command, and made great preparations at Ghent, marched towards the place, and immediately made himſelf maſter of ſome little forts which covered the ſluices: but on his attempting the fort of the Great Kykuyt, General Dedem, who commanded there, made ſuch a terrible fire upon the enemy, that the French were obliged to retire, after four ineffectual aſſaults, which coſt them more than 600 men. At laſt, a con-

1702

conſiderable reinforcement having entered Hulſt, the Marquis of Bedmar abandoned his enterprize, and re-entered his lines, after having cauſed the forts he had poſſeſſed himſelf of to be demoliſhed.

Stevenſwaert attacked and taken.

Soon after the taking of Venlo, the Count de Noyelles was detached with a body of troops to beſiege Stevenſwaert, and the Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck to inveſt Roermonde. The officer who commanded in Stevenſwaert did not wait till a breach was made before he ſurrendered the place: he capitulated on the 1ſt of October, and on the 3d he and his garriſon marched out, in order to be conducted to Namur.

Roermonde taken.

There was now nothing wanting but the taking of Roermonde, (a place of more importance, tho' not ſo ſtrong as Venlo) to render the navigation ſafe from Grave to Maeſtricht. The trenches were opened before that city in the night, between the 2d and 3d of October. As the ſiege was carried on with great vigour, it was brought to capitulate on the 7th, and the garriſon marched out on the 9th with 4 pieces of cannon, and were conducted to Louvain.

The Allies march to Liege.

Tho' the ſeaſon was now pretty far advanced, the Allies, animated by the ſucceſs of their arms, reſolved to finiſh the campaign with the conqueſt of ſome other place, of as great importance as any they had yet taken. M. Boufflers had ſome apprehenſion of their deſign, and was in pain for Liege. He went twice to that city, on the 27th of September, and the 2d of October; viſited very carefully the citadels, and all the advantageous poſts from thence to Maeſtricht, as if he intended to encamp between thoſe cities: but no ſooner was he informed that the Earl of Marlborough was in motion, and marching directly to Liege, but he quitted precipitately his camp at Tongeren, and retired behind the lines of Brabant, in order to cover the places in that province which had not hitherto been attacked.

It

1702

It has been obſerved, in regard to this march, how much the Earl of Marlborough's intelligence and conduct were ſuperior to the Marſhal's, whom he circumvented in every reſpect. Having notice one day where the Marſhal intended to be at noon, his Lordſhip marched ſo early, and poſted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that Boufflers, with his army, came within ſhot of the confederate troops, before he knew where they were, and in all probability would have been ruined, if the too cautious Dutch generals, influenced by the deputies of the States, could have been prevailed on to venture a battle: but that being prevented, the Marſhal eſcaped out of the ſnare, by favour of a dark night.

An inſtance of Lord Marlborough's good conduct.

On the 13th of October, the army of the Allies appeared before Liege, and ſoon after their troops entered the town, which the French had abandoned in the morning, in order to retire to the citadels. As this city is a member of the Empire, they took poſſeſſion of it in his Imperial Majeſty's name. It was agreed by the Allies, that they would not make any uſe of the town in attacking the citadels, to the intent that it might eſcape ruin.

Liege taken.

The batteries being in order, they began on the 20th in the morning to fire on the great citadel; and the ſame evening the trenches were opened in two places, that two attacks might be made, one by the Engliſh on the right, and the other by the Dutch on the left. They puſhed their approaches that night within 40 paces of the counterſcarp. The next day the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe, Lieutenant-General, relieved the trenches which were enlarged and perfected; and on the 22d they were relieved by Lieutenant-General Scholten, and the Electoral Prince of Hanover, now King of Great Britain. The Allies had hitherto been ſo fortunate as to loſe only a ſmall number of men in this ſiege, notwithſtanding the

The citadels of Liege attacked.

1702 the prodigious fire made by the French: and as the fire made by M. de Coehorn, general of the artillery, was far greater, his cannon and bombs overturned every thing in the citadel, and made a ſufficient breach. All things were immediately put in order for an aſſault, which was made on the 23d between 4 and 5 in the evening; and tho' nothing more was deſigned than to ſecure a lodgment on the counterſcarp, yet in half an hour it was carried, and the ſoldiers having puſhed the enemy to the breach, and made themſelves maſters of it, entered the citadel on every ſide, which they likewiſe carried ſword in hand, and gained therein a very conſiderable booty. Mr. de Violaine, the governor, was taken in the breach, with ſeveral other officers; and, after ſome ſlaughter, which could not be prevented in the firſt ſhock, the garriſon, amounting to eight battalions, were made priſoners without any capitulation. The company of cadets in the Dutch guards performed wonders in this attack, and it was chiefly owing to the valour of theſe young heroes that they carried the covert way. This company was compoſed of none but the children of French refugees, out of whom many excellent officers have been taken, and ſome advanced to very conſiderable commands in the Dutch troops. This company diſtinguiſhed itſelf on every occaſion which offered during the war, till the battle of Malplaquet in 1709, wherein they were entirely cut to pieces, in forcing an intrenchment.

And carried.

Bravery of the Dutch cadets.

The charter-houſe attacked and taken.

The taking of the charter-houſe followed ſoon after that of the great citadel. Bad weather obliged the Allies to defer the attack to the 29th, and the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe commanded the Dutch troops at this ſiege. As ſoon as the batteries were in order, and they began to fire from them, the commandant, fearing that he and his garriſon ſhould have the ſame fate with thoſe

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in the other citadel, beat a parley the ſame day, and demanded to capitulate. The capitulation being concluded, the garriſon, compoſed of five battalions, marched out with two pieces of cannon, and were conducted to Antwerp. 1702

The death of the Pr. of Naſſau-Saarbruck.

While the Allies were thus purſuing their conqueſts, in a manner ſuperior to their hopes, the Prince of Naſſau-Saarbruck finiſhed his days glorioufly at Roermonde, after having taking Keyſerſwaert, and driven the French from all the places on the Maeſe. He was Field-Marſhal of the armies of the States-General, whom he had ſerved 38 years, and their High Mightineſſes gave his command to the Earl of Athlone, who had rendered himſelf worthy of it. Thus ended the firſt campaign of this war; of which we may juſtly ſay, that its events equally ſurprized the Allies and the French, being ſuch as neither of them expected.

Earl of Athlone made Field Marſhal.

The Earl of Marlborough taken.

The armies ſeparated for ſome time after, in order to go into winter quarters, and the Earl of Marlborough ſet out for the Hague with Mr. Geldermalſen, eſcorted only by a lieutenant and 25 men. At Roermonde they joined General Coehorn, and continued their voyage together, under an eſcort of 60 horſe, beſides ſixty men who were with Coehorn in his yacht. Their Excellencies arrived the 4th of November at Venlo, where they were furniſhed with a freſh eſcort. But coming in the night to a place two or three leagues below Venlo, where the cavalry were obliged to march at a conſiderable diſtance from the river, and the two yachts being ſeparated from each other, a party of 35 men, from the garriſon of Gelders, iſſued from an ambuſcade, and attacked the veſſel wherein the Earl was. They preſently laid hold of the rope, dragged the yacht towards the ſhore, making at the ſame time a general diſcharge, throwing into it ſeveral grenades, and at laſt boarding and making themſelves maſters of

1702 of the yacht, in ſpite of the 25 ſoldiers who were therein. The commander of the party having demanded if they had any paſſports, M. d'Obdam and Mr. Geldermalſen produced theirs, which were according to form. The Earl of Marlborough had one, which had been granted in the late war to his brother General Churchill, and was long ago expired: this he tendered with ſo much calmneſs, and ſuch preſence of mind, that the partiſan took it for a good one; and having ſearched their baggage, ſeized what ſilver plate they found, and made the eſcort of 25 men priſoners, they left their Excellencies to purſue their voyage in peace.

And diſcharged.

The Governor of Venlo had no ſooner news of the ſurprizal of this boat, but he marched out to inveſt Gelders, in order to recover the illuſtrious priſoners; and the States General immediately aſſembled thereupon, and were under an inexpreſſible concern, while the people condoled each other on their common loſs in a General. In a word, they were in a manner overwhelmed with deſpair, till they heard the news of his eſcape, which made the multitude crowd the ſtreets to ſee him ſafely returned.

The Dutch alarmed.

Tho' the Earl of Marlborough had no immediate concern in what was done this year on the Rhine; yet as his campaign in the empire two ſummers after was a conſequence of the commotions ſtirred up there by the Elector of Bavaria, in this and the following year, it is neceſſary we ſhould take a view of this part of the war; and indeed the ſucceſs of different armies, in a general war, have ſo much effect on each others actions, that it is impoſſible to relate clearly the exploits of one commander, without taking ſome notice of others concerned.

The Emperor had aſſembled on the Rhine this year an army of 40,000 men, commanded by

by Prince Lewis of Baden, under the King of the Romans, afterwards the Emperor Joſeph. Marſhal de Catinat commanded the army of France, which was not ſtrong enough to act offenſively. The Prince of Baden opened the campaign by the ſiege of the important fortreſs of Landau. M. de Melac, a Lieutenant-General, commanded in that place. Being appriſed of the deſign of the Imperial General, he took all imaginable precautions, in order to render it abortive, by cauſing ſeveral outworks to be raiſed to impede the progreſs of the Germans, and to give time to the Marſhal de Catinat and Lieutenant-General d'Uxelles, who commanded in Alſatia, to come to his relief. Theſe difficulties ſerved only to animate the Prince of Baden; who having ſecured the lines of Loutre, marched towards Landau on the 16th of June, and took up his quarters at Hartſheim, at the diſtance of about half a league, with the Margrave of Bareith, the Counts of Thungen, Friſe and Vanten. Count Linengen, who commanded the right, was poſted at Merlenheim, and the left extended to Dave, under the count of Naſſau Weilbourg.

1702

Campaign on the Rhine.

Landau beſieged.

On the 19th of June the trenches were opened, and the King of the Romans arrived on the 27th in the army. The ſiege was very long, and afforded ſeveral officers of diſtinction opportunities of acquiring glory; ſuch as the Prince of Saxony, Prince Proſper of Furſtemburg, Prince Leopold of Diedrichſtein, the Prince of Darmſtadt, and the Prince of Wirtemberg. Several brave officers alſo loſt their lives here; amongſt others the Count of Soiſſons, Prince Eugene's eldeſt brother, the Prince of Dourlach, and a Count of the name of Konigſegg. The place capitulated on the 10 of September. M. de Malac acquired a great deal of glory by the gallant defence which he made; as did the Prince of Baden by his activity and conſtancy, which ſupplied an infinite number of things

Taken.

1702

neceſſary in ſuch enterprizes, that are ſeldom to be had when the Empire is to furniſh them. Count Friſe, Major-General of the Imperial troops, was appointed governor of the new conqueſt.

Elector of Bavaria ſurpriſes Ulm.

Landau had no ſooner ſurrendered, but the Elector of Bavaria, who hitherto had not declared, poſſeſſed himſelf by ſurprize of the city of Ulm, to puniſh, as he pretended, the circles of Suabia and Franconia, for having taken part with the Emperor, notwithſtanding a treaty they had made with his Electoral Highneſs, for maintaining the tranquility of the empire. This unexpected action was followed by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's orders to the Marquis de Villars, to march with a part of his army on the other ſide of the Rhine, in order to join the Duke of Bavaria, who was advancing through the Black Foreſt. The body of troops commanded by Villars, who had under him 2 Lieutenant-Generals, 4 Major-Generals and 8 Brigadiers, conſiſted of 36 ſquadrons, and 32 battalions. The Marquis marched directly to Hunningen, in order to paſs the Rhine there; but the vigilant Prince of Baden prevented him, and rendered that paſſage far more difficult than it was imagined at the court of Verſailles, inaſmuch as it produced a very bloody engagement between Friedlingen and Etlingen, where no leſs than 4000 men on both ſides remained dead in the field.

Advances towards the Black Foreſt.

Battle of Friedlingen.

Prince Lewis having received advice, that, either by ſtratagem or chance, the French had ſurpriſed Newburgh, gave orders that his army ſhould advance on that ſide, with deſign to retake that town, where the French intended to paſs the Rhine. His Serene Highneſs had a conference on this ſubject with the Dutch General Dopf. Villars, being informed that the confederate troops were decamped from before Hunningen, cauſed his army to paſs the Rhine on ſuch bridges as were ready, and in boats, and then advanced

vanced into the plain of Weil, on the ſide of the river, of which he took poſſeſſion; as alſo of ſome eminences thereabouts. The confederate generals had no ſooner an account of this motion, than they put their horſe in order of battle, that they might advance towards the enemy. The infantry were likewiſe directed to make themſelves maſters of the eminences, where, when they arrived, they found the enemy ranged in Battalia. Upon this, the cavalry of the Allies, puſhed on by their too great ardour, fell upon them ſword in hand, and were received with a general diſcharge of ſmall arms, which did terrible execution. The French having forced theſe ſquadrons, drove them back on the two lines behind, and put thoſe likewiſe into confuſion, inſomuch that all the cavalry retired with great precipitation towards Friburg, and never returned to the charge. The infantry, who were alſo drawn up in Battalia, fell upon the French foot, who had ſome pieces of cannon; and after the fight had continued for ſome time doubtful, the Prince of Baden arrived. 1702

The French infantry routed.

The preſence of their General animated his troops ſo much, that throwing themſelves on the enemy, ſword in hand, with their bayonets fixed to their pieces, they put them to the rout, and purſued them more than three quarters of a league, without ſuffering them to rally, and without the French cavalry making any motion. The Prince of Baden, having in this manner gained the field of battle, remained thereon ſix whole hours, waiting for his horſe to come up and attack thoſe of the enemy. If the cavalry had appeared, the Prince of Baden would certainly have obtained a complete victory; but perceiving that not ſo much as a ſquadron came in ſight, he marched directly towards Staufen, the cavalry of the enemy not daring to purſue him. In this action the Imperialiſts retook 6 pieces of cannon from the

1702 French infantry, which they had before loſt to the horſe, and alſo 5 pieces belonging to the enemy. The Prince of Baden obſerves, in his account of the battle given to the King of the Romans, that it is not to be imagined how ſo great a body of foot, ſupported by their horſe, and fluſhed with ſucceſs at firſt, could ſuffer itſelf to be defeated and purſued in ſuch a manner, by ſo ſmall a number as the Imperial infantry was.-------This action, which the French, according to cuſtom, called a victory on their ſide, procured Villars a Marſhal's Truncheon.

Lord Marlborough complimented by the States deputies.

As ſoon as Lord Marlborough was arrived at the Hague, the Grand Penſionary Heinſius, and others, were deputed from the States-General, to congratulate him upon his victorious campaign, and happy eſcape from his captivity near Venlo.

Then their High-Mightineſſes confirmed his Lordſhip General of their forces, and continued on him his ſalary of 10,000 *l.* a year for maintenance of that dignity.

And by the Engliſh Parliament.

After receiving this honour, his Lordſhip ſailed for England, where he was received with all joy and affection. No ſooner was he come to his apartment at St. James's, but the Commons, who had voted him thanks for his great ſervices, and retrieving the honour of the Engliſh nation, deputed Sir Edward Seymour, comptroller of the houſhold, and ſeveral of their members, to compliment him. As Sir Edward exerted all his eloquence to diſplay the ſatisfaction the Commons took in acknowledging the general's tranſcendant merits, ſo the general ſignalized his uſual modeſty, in aſcribing his ſucceſſes to her Majeſty's happy conduct, and the bravery of her troops. This winter the Queen, with the approbation of both houſes of Parliament, created his Lordſhip Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough, and gave him 5000 *l. per annum* out of the

the poſt-office, for the ſupport of that honour, during his life. 1703

It was obſerved, on this occaſion, that Sir Edward Seymour *, notwithſtanding his former rhetorick, did, with ſome others, excuſe themſelves from complying with her Majeſty's requeſt, of granting the ſame term in the penſion as in the honour; and pleaded their unwillingneſs to make a precedent for alienating the crown revenues. The Duke bore this oppoſition with his conſtant evenneſs of temper; and when he had heard the debates that had paſſed in the houſe, prayed the Queen "rather to forego her gracious meſſage "in his behalf, than to create any uneaſineſs or "diſtruſt on his account, ſince it might embar-"raſs her affairs, and be of ill conſequence to "the publick." *Sir Edward Seymour's inconſiſtent behaviour.*

His grace repaired early to the Hague the following Spring, and having reſolved, with the States deputies, that one of the firſt things to be done was to reduce the electorate of Cologn, he advanced with his army that way.

On the 24 of April, Bonne, the uſual reſidence of the elector, was inveſted by Lieutenant-General Bulau with the Lunenburg Cavalry, and ſome regiments of the Pruſſian horſe. The next day Lieutenant-General Fagel arrived with the infantry; and as ſoon as the Duke of Marlborough came, the camp was extended from Rhineſdorf to Kruitſberg. On the 26th, Lieutenant-General Coehorn arrived by water with the veſſels and pontons, and preſently a bridge was laid over the river at Rhineſdorf, and the faſcines, gabions, and other materials got in a readineſs. The town was ordered to be attacked in three places; the firſt againſt the fort on the other ſide of the *Bonne inveſted.*

* This gentleman, who was ſpeaker of the houſe of Commons in the Reign of King Charles II, was always ſuſpected to be in the French intereſt, and had been under an impeachment. *Macky's Characters*, p. 111.

1703 Rhine, and the other two againſt the city and the outworks that ſecured it. The firſt attack was commanded by Lieutenant-General Coehorn, the ſecond by the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the third by Lieutenant-General Fagel. Twelve regiments were ordered to each of theſe attacks, who took their poſts the 27th. A flying-bridge alſo arrived from Coblentz, with the artillery, conſiſting of 6 demiculverins, 4 quarter-pieces, 100 carriages, 4 mortars, 6 leſſer guns, 7000 cannon-balls, 24 and 12 pounders, 200 bombs from 75 to 30 pound each, 800 great grenades, 1200 leſſer, 10,000 hand-grenades, 2000 lb. of powder, with a proportional number of ſpades, great bills, and faſcines of 10 foot each. On the 3d of May, the trenches were opened in all the three attacks, and the beſiegers continued their approaches with more than ordinary diligence, and with the loſs only of 7 killed and 20 wounded before the city; and 14 ſlain, and ſome few wounded in repelling a ſally of thoſe in the fort, who were driven back with loſs.

The governor ſends to the Duke of Marlborough.

In the mean time, the batteries were carried on with that alacrity, and the preparations for deſtruction appeared ſo dreadful, that the governor ſent a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, importing, that an agreement had been made the laſt year, between the electors Palatine and Cologn, that the cities of Duſſeldorp and Bonne ſhould not be bombarded, in order to preſerve the churches, palaces, and other publick buildings; the performance of which agreement he was ordered to requeſt from his Grace; and to declare withal, that unleſs the ſame were obſerved, the elector of Bavaria would deſtroy the city of Newburg, belonging to the elector Palatine. The Duke having imparted this letter to the Elector Palatine, and taken the advice of the general officers, it was thought convenient that his Grace ſhould anſwer

1703

ſwer it in general terms, "That it was neither "his cuſtom nor his inclination to deſtroy cities "or publick buildings out of a premeditated de- "ſign, provided the enemy's conduct did not put "him upon ſuch a neceſſity." Which anſwer was ſent by a trumpeter.

The fort taken.

The batteries being ready the 8th, the beſiegers began to fire with good ſucceſs: for the ſame day the chain which held the flying-bridge, by means of which the fort communicated with the town, was broke by a cannon-ſhot, and the bridge ſtaved in pieces and carried away. Here the enemy had ſeveral men ſlain, while they attempted to ſave the bridge. Next day, the battery which played upon the fort made ſuch a breach, that the General reſolved to ſtorm it; when the enemy, not thinking it ſafe to hazard the event, ſet fire to their caſerns, and retreated into the ravelin, in order to get into the town in boats: but they were ſo cloſely purſued by the beſiegers into the ravelin, that they had not time to effect their deſign. Ten men were killed, and 30 taken priſoners, among whom was the commander of the fort, and 3 other officers. The beſiegers had but 3 men killed, and ſome few wounded: a ſucceſs ſo unexpected, that the Duke of Marlborough ſent away an expreſs to the States-General, to acquaint them with it.

An accident falls the beſiegers.

A little before the gaining of the fort, an unhappy accident happened in General Dedem's attack, (who commanded under Fagel) where 150 bombs, and as many grenades, unfortunately took fire, and were blown up, together with a lieutenant and 5 workmen.

The beſiegers being maſters of the fort, orders were given for raiſing in it a new battery, that the cannon and mortars might be brought nearer the town. They began to play the 12th, in order to make two breaches, with a deſign to aſſault

1703 assault the place from the Prince of Hesse's and General Dedem's attacks. Next day about noon, the besieged with about 1000 foot, supported by all their horse and dragoons, made a sally upon Dedem's attack, where the besiegers in the trenches were at first put into some disorder. This gave the enemy an opportunity to possess themselves of one of the batteries. However, the besiegers soon recovered themselves, and repulsed the assailants with the loss of 100 men slain, and as many wounded, besides a major and 3 captains taken prisoners: while the number of the slain and taken, on the besiegers side, did not amount to half the number.

The counterscarp taken. And now all things being in a readiness to assail the counterscarp and covert-way, on that side next the Prince of Hesse's attack, the onset began about eight o'clock at night under the command of Major-General Tettau and Brigadier Palant, the Prince being there in person. The assailants, seconded by the continual fire and mortars of the several attacks, forced their way forward, drove the besieged from their works, and lodged themselves where they had intended. In this action General Tettau was wounded, with about seven or eight officers, and 150 soldiers killed and wounded, together with the engineer who commanded in the works.

The garrison capitulates. So much bravery in the besiegers, and such an amazing tempest of artificial thunder and lightning, astonished the besieged to that degree, that fearing a second storm, the next day, being the 14th, they beat a parley about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and at 6 the hostages were exchanged: but the conditions of surrender were not produced till the next morning, and then were so extravagant, that they were rejected, and others sent them by the Duke of Marlborough. All things were agreed on the 15th, by 11 at night; and presently one of the gates of the city was opened for

for the beſiegers to take poſſeſſion of it. The capitulation conſiſted of 11 articles; of which the chief were, That the garriſon ſhould march out within two days after ſigning the capitulation, with their arms and baggage, and 4 pieces of cannon: that they ſhould be conducted to Luxemberg the ſhorteſt way: that they ſhould not carry away any gold or ſilver, but what belonged to the officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon: that all the records and archives belonging to the Archbiſhoprick of Cologn ſhould be reſtored to the chapter: and that all the priſoners taken on both ſides, during the ſiege, ſhould be delivered without ranſom.--------By the taking of Bonne, the navigation of the Rhine became free, Rhinberg having ſurrendered to the Pruſſians the February before. 1703

Boufflers and Villeroy attempt to ſurpriſe the Allies.

While the Duke of Marlborough was before Bonne, the two French Marſhals who commanded this year in the Netherlands, Boufflers and Villeroy, (thinking to have ſurpriſed the Confederates that lay diſperſed about Maeſtricht, to have bombarded the town itſelf, and after that to have fallen upon Liege) on the 9th at night, advanced of a ſudden into the neighbourhood of Tongeren, with an army of above 40,000 men; Boufflers coming up with part of theſe forces on one ſide of the town, and Villeroy with the reſt on the other: ſo that the Confederates, who were marching to have poſted themſelves in that place, were forced to retreat with all ſpeed under the cannon of Maeſtricht. In the mean time, the enemy fell upon Tongeren, where 2 battalions of foot, the one of Elſt, the other of Portmore, were quartered. They defended themſelves with extraordinary bravery for 28 hours; but then were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion.

This vigorous reſiſtance gave the Confederates an opportunity to draw together before Maeſtricht: ſo that when the enemy advanced forward, with a de-

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deſign, as was ſuppoſed, to have forced the Confederate cavalry to repaſs the Maeſe at Nimeguen, and the foot to retire under the out-works of Maeſtricht, (there to have plied them with their bombs) they found, to their great diſappointment, the Confederate army under General Auverquerque drawn up in order of battle, advantageouſly poſted, and ready to engage them, tho' much ſuperior in number. This put the two Marſhals to ſuch a ſtand, that they knew not what to do, and the Confederates might eaſily perceive how much they fluctuated in their reſolutions. They firſt appeared about 7 o'clock in the morning, in order of battle, upon the hills near Duyſberg, with the greateſt part of their army; from whence they made ſeveral inſignificant motions, ſeeming all to tend to the attacking of the Confederates right wing; which the latter obſerving, poſted an Engliſh Brigade in the hedges of Lonaken, to cover their right flank; and a regiment of dragoons was poſted near the church of Lonaken, to ſupport 150 foot planted in the church-yard, to defend the paſs from the heath of Beſſimere. And, indeed, wherever the enemy ſeemed to bend their ſtrength, the Confederate Generals were careful to double their oppoſition. But about 11 o'clock the ſame forenoon, the enemy made a general motion of all their forces, ſending down ſeveral brigades of foot, in 2 columns, from between Duyſberg-hills and the village of Veltweſſen: from whence the Confederate Generals concluded, that they were marching directly towards them. But when they came within reach of the cannon, they made a halt, both with their brigades and the main body of their army; the brigades ſtretching themſelves out, their right toward Duyſberg, their left toward Veltweſſen, and their main body upon the hills of Duyſberg, and behind Veltweſſen. Thus both armies ſtood gazing upon one another till 3 in the afternoon, when the

Whom they find drawn up in order of battle.

And dare not attack them.

the two Marſhals, finding all their motions to no purpoſe, and not daring to attack the Confederates, marched back, the ſame way they came, to Tongeren. 1703

Soon after, Bonne being taken, the Duke of Marlborough returned to the army of the Confederates, which conſiſted of 130 ſquadrons, and 59 battalions, and ſet forward toward Liege, as well to ſecure that place, as to force the enemy to decamp from Tongeren. Their army, conſiſting of above 60 battalions, and 100 ſquadrons, ſeemed to be very advantageouſly poſted. The Duke marched from Hatch near Maeſtricht, and, having paſſed the river Jecker, advanced to Hautin, where the enemy intended to have foraged that morning; but, upon notice of the Confederates approach, removed to ſome farther diſtance, where they continued under their arms that night. Upon the Confederates advancing to Nieudorp, they marched with great precipitation to Bockworn, not daring to ſtand the hazard of a battle. They alſo quitted Tongeren, after they had blown up the walls and the tower. The Duke followed them, and advanced within half a league of their camp; but the Jecker parted the two armies, and the enemy had ſecured all the bridges and paſſes of the river. They thought themſelves not ſafe for all this, but retreated to Hannuye. Indeed, upon the Duke's advancing to Thys and Lamin, they drew up in order of battle, and ſent away their baggage, as if they intended to have fought: but their courage failed them; and this was the ſecond time of their retiring, or rather flying before the Confederates.

Duke of Marlborough ſtrives in vain to bring the French to a battle.

While the grand army was in continual motion, all people wondered whither the great preparations tended that were making by M. Coehorn. As they were very conſiderable, they were thought the prognoſticks of ſome more conſiderable event.

Nor

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The lines forced in the country of Waes by M. de Coehorn.

Nor was it long before the general expectations were satisfied, upon the welcome news, that the Confederates had forced the lines in the country of Waes. In this action General Coehorn commanded one attack, in a place called the Hoeck van Callo, where he met with little resistance. At the same time, the redoubt called St. Anthony's Hoek, was also attacked and taken, with the loss only of 17 men on the Confederates side. At first the enemy seemed resolved to have defended this post; but perceiving that a battery was raising against them, they surrendered at discretion: and soon after General Coehorn became master of another fortification, called the Pearl Fort. But Baron Spaar, who commanded the other attack, near the village of Stoken, met with great opposition from 8 battalions of the enemy's foot, and 6000 of the country people, who made a more vigorous resistance than the disciplined men, and by firing from the houses of the villages very much annoyed the Confederates after they were got into the lines. This obliged Baron Spaar to order that no quarter should be given them; so that a considerable number of them were slain. In this action the loss on General Coehorn's side was inconsiderable; but out of Baron Spaar's detachment 1200 men were slain and wounded, among whom were two officers of note.

The States alarmed by a letter from M. Opdam.

Soon after, this universal joy for such great advantages was interrupted for a time, by a strange account sent by M. Opdam from Breda, "That "the French had surrounded the body of forces under his command, near a place called "Eckeren, and put them to a total rout; that "he had made his escape to Breda with only 30 "horse, and could give no farther account of "their Lordship's army." This put all the Hague in a general consternation. The States-General met immediately; and, after they had sat in consultation till one in the morning, dispatched away M. Gel-

M. Geldermanſen, and two deputies more, with money and inſtructions, to prevent, as much as might be, the ill conſequences of this ſuppoſed diſorder. But theſe commiſſioners in their way met with a courier from M. Hop, with a letter to the States, wherein they received an account quite contrary to that terrible news which they received from M. Opdam. It imported, that the enemy, conſiſting of 25,000 men, (whereas the Dutch were only 8000) had fallen upon and ſurrounded M. Opdam's army; that the combat had been bloody, from 3 in the afternoon till the duſk of the evening, with various ſucceſs; but that at length the States forces, by their bravery, forced the village of Otteren, kept the field of battle all night, and continued their march the next morning without any moleſtation from the enemy. Mean time, General Coehorn preſerved his acquiſitions, and laid great contributions upon part of Flanders. As for the loſs on both ſides in the battle of Eckeren, that of the Confederates amounted to 2414 men, and 376 horſes, including the dead, wounded, and priſoners; that of the enemy was computed to be above 3000, and among them the Marquiſſes of Weſterlo and Riſburg, the Count of Briſac, and Colonel Zuniga; and among their wounded, the Duke of Nortemart, the Baron of Keris, the Count of Notaf, Colonel de Valenſar, the Chevalier de Bournonville, the Marquis de la Vere, and M. de Courville. Five or 6 Lieutenant-Colonels were ſlain, a great many captains, and ſeveral inferior officers. The regiments of Valenſar, Riſburg, Dienſe, Jacob, and the Marquis of Bedmar's guards, were utterly broken and ſhattered.

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Which is ſoon contradicted.

Loſs in the battle of Eckeren.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe notorious evidences, the French King, intoxicated with the fancy of a victory, or believing his ſubjects had need of a fit of mirth, conſidering their condi-

The French King orders Te Deum tho' his troops are worſted.

1703 tion, wrote to the Cardinal de Noailles, to bid his muſick ſtrike up, and give the people a Te Deum, that, like ſwans, they might ſing in the gaſping hours of their tribulation. All this while he had very bad luck with his glorious victory: for inſtead of proſecuting their blow, his generals, with all the flower of the proweſs and courage of France, lay dormant in their trenches, not daring to anſwer the challenges of the Duke of Marlborough, who offered them battle every day.

It may be conjectured, that the flight of General Opdam might be the ground upon which the French built the defeat of his army: nor indeed did that General mend the matter, by a letter he wrote to the States from Lillo. He acknowledged, that he made too haſty a judgment upon the imminent danger that all the army was in; and that the enemy preſſing on, with an irreſiſtable ſuperiority, within piſtol-ſhot of the place where he was preſent, and where no ſuccour could come to enable him to keep his ground, was that which moved him to act in that manner. He told them farther, that he had reaſſumed the command of the army, and that the generals and other officers made no ſcruple to obey his orders; yet, finding himſelf leſſened in the general eſteem, and looked upon as unworthy to command the forces of the State, he begged permiſſion of their Highneſſes deputies to go to the Hague for a few days, in order to clear himſelf, before their High-Mightineſſes, from the imputations he lay under. Accordingly he arrived at the Hague the 11th of July, and General Slangenburgh, who reſtored the day after his retreat, had the command of his army. That general alſo received the thanks of their High-Mightineſſes his maſters.

Opdam owns his fault.

All this while the Duke of Marlborough could come to no conſiderable action. Marches and coun-

counter-marches, and daily conſultations which way to bring the enemy to an engagement, was all that paſſed in his army. On the 27th of July, his grace, and ſeveral other general officers, went with a guard of 4000 horſe and dragoons to view the enemies lines; and his grace advanced as far as the mill of Graven Weſel, from whence he had a diſtant proſpect of them on that ſide. From thence he ſent 200 dragoons, with orders to advance nearer, and get intelligence; and of theſe an advanced party, of about 30 Engliſh, commanded by Lieutenant Benſon, fell in with one of the enemy's out-guards of 40 horſe, who after one diſcharge retired, and were chaſed by the Engliſh to the very barrier of their lines; which gave the Confederate Generals an opportunity to view them within muſket-ſhot.

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Duke of Marlborough views the enemies lines.

On the 16th of Auguſt, a great detachment of the grand army, under the Duke of Marlborough, came before Huy, a little city, with 4 churches and a caſtle, ſeated upon the river Huy, which runs through it, and from whence it derives its name. Upon the approach of the Confederates, the governor broke down the bridge between the two towns, and retired into the caſtle and forts: whereupon 2 battalions were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the neareſt part of the town. The two next days, all things being in a readineſs, the trenches were opened againſt the forts; and about the ſame time, the governor quitted the farthermoſt town, and the Lord Roſs was ordered to take poſſeſſion of it. The garriſon likewiſe quitted the forts of Picart and St. Joſeph, after they had, for ſome ſhort time, been cannonaded from the Duke of Marlborough's batteries. The beſiegers took poſſeſſion of them, as alſo of fort Rouge, which is in a manner commanded by the other two.

Huy inveſted.

On the 23d, the beſiegers began to play upon the caſtle; and on the 25th, all things being in a rea-

1703 readineſs for a general ſtorm, the batteries fired without intermiſſion all that afternoon, and ſeveral ladders were fixed at the foot of the caſtle. Tho' this was but a feint, yet the beſieged, believing the aſſailants in earneſt, beat a parley, and offered to ſurrender, upon condition that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march to Namur, with the uſual marks of honour. Hereupon the Duke of Marlborough ſent a meſſage to the governor, declaring, that notwithſtanding the advantages he had, if the garriſon would lay down their arms, all that belonged to the officers and ſoldiers ſhould be allowed them, and they ſhould be exchanged for a like number of the Confederates men, whenever the Marſhal de Villeroy ſhould deſire it. Which propoſition being at firſt rejected, orders were given for renewing the aſſault. But the ſoldiers refuſing to defend the place any longer, the governor accepted the terms offered him by the Duke of Marlborough, and the garriſon, amounting to 900 men, were made priſoners of war. There was found in the caſtle a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, and proviſions ſufficient to have ſupplied the garriſon for above a fortnight longer. During the whole ſiege, the beſiegers had but 18 men killed and 35 wounded, beſides ſome officers. On the 27th, in the morning, the garriſon marched out of the citadel, and were all diſarmed, except the officers, who, by the courteſy of his grace, were allowed to keep their ſwords.------The Duke of Marlborough, ſeeing that nothing elſe could be done, reſolved to take as many towns as poſſible this campaign.

The garriſon ſurrenders at diſcretion.

Limburg was inveſted on the 9th of September, by Lieutenant-General Bulau, with 24 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons. The next day the foot arrived, and the cannon and ammunition being come to Liege, the Duke of Marlborough followed the next morning, with the hereditary Prince of Heſſe,

Limburg inveſted.

Heſſe, and a farther detachment of 15 ſquadrons, and 24 battalions. The 13th the beſiegers marched to their ſeveral poſts, and, upon the 20th, the artillery and other neceſſaries being come up, a Lieutenant-Colonel, with 300 men, was ordered to attack the lower town; from whence the defendants retired upon the firſt aſſault, and the beſiegers took poſſeſſion of it. They had this advantage by their acquiſition, that if the enemy advanced near them, they could block up the town with 5 battalions, and meet the enemy with the reſt of their forces. On the 25th, the beſiegers had finiſhed their batteries, and began to play upon the town with their cannon, and 20 mortars. They continued to do ſo all the next day, with good ſucceſs; and the mortars played all night, to diſturb the garriſon. 1703

The garriſon made priſoners of war alſo.

By the 27th the breach was ſo wide, that the beſiegers were preparing to give a general aſſault the next day; which the enemy perceiving, beat a parley. But all the conditions they could obtain were, that the garriſon ſhould remain priſoners of war: that the officers and ſoldiers might keep what was their own; and that the officers ſhould be allowed twelve waggons to carry their baggage, provided they delivered up one of their gates within half an hour after this agreement. This being done, and the garriſon, conſiſting of 1400 men, having marched out, the beſiegers took poſſeſſion of the place. By the taking of this town the Confederates not only became maſters of the whole Dutchy of Limburg, but ſecured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologn, from the incurſions of the French. Little or nothing more happened remarkable during this compaign, except that the Duke ſtill did all in his power to bring the French to a battle, and they all in theirs to avoid it; and that his grace would have attacked the enemy's lines between the Mehaigne and Leucer, and have

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made an attempt on Antwerp, but was prevented by the Dutch deputies. Thus the campaign ended, to the glory and advantage of the Allies.

The Archduke Charles declared King of Spain.

The treaty between the Confederates and the King of Portugal having been ſigned the 16th of May, and that Prince entering thereby into the grand alliance, the Archduke Charles II, Son of the Emperor, was declared at Vienna King of Spain and the Indies, by virtue of a ceſſion made to him by the Emperor and the King of the Romans, of all their rights and pretenſions to the Spaniſh Monarchy. A few days after that ceremony, he ſet out for Holland: but the buſineſs of war for this year being at an end, the Duke of Marlborough went to wait upon his Majeſty at Duſſeldorp, as he was coming to make uſe of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhipping. He was very kindly received by the young Monarch, and when he told him, that "He was juſt come from putting "his Majeſty in poſſeſſion of Limburg;" the King ſaid, "He hoped to be much more indebted to "his Grace's valour, in the reduction of other "places and territories to his obedience;" and preſenting him with a ſword ſet with diamonds, added: "My Lord, I need not be aſham-"ed to confeſs my ſelf a poor Prince; I have "only my cloak and my ſword: the latter will "be a uſeful preſent to your Excellency, and I "hope you will not think it the worſe for my "wearing it to-day."---"So far from it, *replied* "*the Duke*, that it ſhall always put me in mind of "your Majeſty's juſt right and title, and of the ob-"ligations I lie under, to hazard my life, and "all that is dear to me to make you the greateſt "Prince in Chriſtendom." The king had many other diſcourſes with his grace; and in particular repreſented to him the misfortunes of the Empire, by the defection of the Elector of Bavaria. His grace then haſtened to the Hague, where he convinced the States-General, that the Emperor ought

Duke of Marlborough viſits him.

to

to be aſſiſted with all expedition. Thence he ſet out for England, to make the ſame repreſentation at the court of his miſtreſs. 1703

His Catholick Majeſty, being arrived in Holland, embarked the 23d of December for England, and arrived at Spithead the 26th in the afternoon. He had all poſſible honours paid to him, both from the fleet and the town. The next day the Duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe, waited on his Majeſty on ſhipboard, with a letter and a compliment from the Queen, acquainting him, that ſhe was come to Windſor, in order to receive the viſit that his Majeſty had deſired to make to her. The next night he lay at Petworth, whither his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Denmark came to meet him. The 29th, about 7 in the evening, he arrived at Windſor, and was lighted by the noblemen in waiting to the ſtair-head where the Queen received him. He ſupped that night with her Majeſty, who gave him the right hand at table, which he with great difficulty admitted. The Queen preſented ſeveral ladies of the firſt quality to his Majeſty, who ſaluted them with a kiſs. The next day, having notice that the Queen was coming to make him a viſit, his Majeſty met her at her drawing-room door, endeavouring to have prevented her; but her Majeſty went on to his apartment, from whence he led her to dinner. The afternoon was ſpent in entertainments of muſick, and other diverſions.

K. Charles arrives in England.

The merchants trading in the dominions of Spain, attended his Catholick Majeſty this day at Windſor, being introduced by the Duke of Marlborough, and delivered him a compliment in the Spaniſh tongue. The King received thoſe gentlemen very favourably, and was pleaſed, in a moſt obliging manner, to aſſure them of his favour and protection, paying them the higheſt compliment that the Spaniſh language admits in their ſovereign.

Is addreſſed by the Spaniſh merchants.

Supper

1703 Supper being over, he led her Majeſty to her bed-chamber; where, after ſome ſtay, he took his leave of her, reſolving to depart the next morning. He went accordingly, and his Royal Highneſs attended him to the coach-ſide, the King not ſuffering him to go any further by reaſon of his indiſpoſition.

Having thus left Windſor the 31ſt, accompanied again by the Duke of Somerſet, (who was commanded by her Majeſty to attend him) and by other perſons of quality, his Majeſty lay that night at Petworth, the ſeat of his Grace, and arrived the 1704 1ſt of January at Portſmouth. He was received at the town-gates by the mayor, aldermen, and corporation, in their formalities, who attended him to the water-ſide, the ſtreets being full of illuminations; and at his going off the artillery was diſcharged. His Majeſty immediately went on board the Royal Catharine at Spithead, extreamly well ſatisfied with his reception at Windſor, and with the honours paid him by the fleet, and in the ſeveral towns through which he paſſed. He came aſhore the 3d, *incognito*, to ſee the dock, and honoured Admiral Callenberg with a viſit. The 5th, about 4 in the afternoon, Sir George Rook with the whole fleet ſailed from Spithead for Liſbon: but were driven back again to Portſmouth, and continued there ſome time.

He goes on board the fleet for Spain.

The States General deſire the Duke of Marlborough's preſence.

The States-General, having by their envoy extraordinary at London repreſented to the Queen, that the coming of the Duke of Marlborough to the Hague might be of great advantage to the common cauſe, by concerting there with them the meaſures proper to be taken in that juncture; and therefore praying her Majeſty to give his Grace leave to paſs the ſea for a few days; her Majeſty was pleaſed to direct his Grace to go accordingly to the Hague for that purpoſe, and after a ſhort ſtay to return. In purſuance whereof, he arrived there about the middle of January, and immediately

diately the States appointed ſome of their deputies to confer with him. In theſe conferences, they concerted proper meaſures to inſiſt with the princes of the empire, that every one ſhould ſend betimes their contingent of troops to make up the Imperial army. The Inſurrection in Hungary, which had prevented the Emperor from ſending his own quota, was another point debated, and the wiſe reſolutions taken thereupon ſoon appeared in a moſt viſible manner. The court of Vienna, abating of its unſeaſonable high carriage, ſeemed diſpoſed to follow the advices of their beſt friends, and to hearken to an accommodation with the Malecontents. The Prince of the Empire, awakened by the imminent danger that threatened them, and encouraged by the exhortations and example of England and Holland, and by the condeſcenſions of the Imperial court, reſolved to make new efforts for the defence of their country. The King of Pruſſia, in a particular manner, expreſſed his zeal for the Empire, in ſending a freſh body of near 10,000 men againſt the French and Bavarians. The Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Zell likewiſe promiſed, not only to ſend the troops for their quota, but to add 3000 men more at their own charge. Purſuant to theſe vigorous reſolutions, the Dutch troops advanced towards Liege and other places on that ſide, to be ready to oppoſe the repairing of the French lines, which had been demoliſhed during the Winter by Count Noyelles. Mean time the Duke of Marlborough returned to England about the middle of February, with the ſame wind that carried Sir George Rook and his royal convoy towards Spain.

1704

The points he concerted with the States deputies.

Before I proceed to the campaign of 1704, the moſt glorious one during the whole war, I muſt take a ſhort review of paſt tranſactions, in order to give ſome idea of the ſituation of the Confederate powers, and in particular of the Empire. It muſt

1704

must be obſerved then, that tho' the French in 1703 durſt not make head againſt the Duke of Marlborough, they had other ſucceſſes elſewhere. The taking of Keyſerſwaert, Venlo, Roermonde, Liege, and Landau, and ſeveral other advantages by ſea and land, in the firſt campaign of the war, gave a reaſonable proſpect to conceive great hopes of the ſecond; and had the Empire made good their great promiſes, the ſucceſs would ſcarce have fallen ſhort of expectation: but by the neglect of that conſiderable member of the Grand Alliance, the whole Confederacy was diſappointed, and the enemies had ſome cauſe to triumph. The Germans, it ſeems, had a wrong notion of the power of France, and the genius of her court; and it was no ſmall ſurprize to them, to ſee thoſe very enemies, who were on the defenſive in the firſt campaign, augmenting their forces, and acting offenſively in the next; taking towns, and gaining victories.

Recapitulation.

Advantages of the French from the Elector of Bavaria's revolt.

The declaration of the Elector of Bavaria, againſt the common intereſt of the Empire, was ſo advantageous to them, and they knew ſo well the conſequences of it, that they reſolved to leave nothing unattempted to reinforce that Prince, before the dilatory Germans could come together to reduce him. In order thereto, Marſhal Villars had, towards the latter end of the preceding year, paſſed the Rhine, and made all poſſible efforts to force his way through the Black Foreſt: but the vigorous reſiſtance of the Germans, and the precautions of Prince Lewis of Baden, diſappointed the deſigns of the French, who were obliged to ſend their troops into Winter-quarters without reinforcing the Bavarians; notwithſtanding they boaſted, after the battle of Fridlingen, that nothing could ſtop their march.

The vigorous reſolutions of the diet of Ratiſbon, in favour of the common cauſe, againſt France and the Elector of Bavaria, made the French

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French very uneaſy; and, leſt the effects ſhould anſwer the menaces of the Diet, they reſolved early in the Spring, or rather in the Winter, to prevent the Germans, and to open a way of communication with the Bavarians. They attacked, in the beginning of March, the important fortreſs of Kehl, which ſurrendered 10 or 12 days after the opening of the trenches. That place being thus taken, and all the forts and lines along the river Kintſhe abandoned by the Germans, Prince Lewis of Baden drew all his forces into the lines of Stolhoffen, wherein he was attacked in April by M. de Villars, with ſuch an army, that, without the timely ſuccours of 15 Dutch battalions, under the command of Major-General Goor, thoſe lines would have been forced, and the whole Empire expoſed to the French; as Prince Lewis owned himſelf in a letter to the States. The French, being repulſed with loſs in that attack, turned back on a ſudden towards Offenburgh, and, without any oppoſition, marched through paſſes and defiles, which were thought impracticable, towards the Danube, where they joined the Elector of Bavaria. This ſucceſs of the French obliged Prince Lewis to weaken his forces on the Rhine, to cover Franconia and Suabia, leſt thoſe two circles ſhould be perſuaded to embrace the neutrality offered them by France.

Progreſs of the French in Germany in 1703.

Prince Lewis had all the time he could deſire to effect his deſign; for the French and Bavarians had another project of more importance in view, which obliged them to divide their forces. This new project was to open a communication between their army on the Danube and the French forces in Italy, which would have proved the ruin of the whole Empire. Accordingly the Elector of Bavaria marched into the country of Tirol, where he took in a few days ſo many important poſts, that had the Duke of Vendome marched into the country of Trent at the ſame time,

They attempt to open a communication with their army in Italy.

1704 time, it is very likely his Electoral Highneſs would have ſucceeded in that great enterprize. What retarded the march of the Duke of Vendome, was the difficulty of the undertaking, which he expoſtulated for ſome time with his court. Theſe delays, in all human probability, were the means of ſaving the Empire: for ſome few Imperial troops, with the brave boors of Tirol, had time to draw together againſt the Bavarians, whom they defeated in ſeveral rencounters, and at laſt beat out of their country, re-taking all the poſts they had taken, except Kuffſtein. They then marched againſt the French, who had already advanced to Trent, and obliged them likewiſe to retire. The Biſhop of Brixen diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion.

The Elector of Bavaria having rejoined the French, who continued all this while entrenched near Dillingen, between Ulm and Donawert, parted once more from them; and Prince Lewis of Baden, having notice of his deſign to ſeize Augſburg, notwithſtanding an agreement of neutrality concluded for that city, his Highneſs divided likewiſe his forces, marching with all poſſible ſpeed to cover the place, where he arrived juſt as the vanguard of the Bavarians appeared in ſight. This happy ſucceſs of Prince Lewis put him upon a deſign of greater conſequence; the execution of which would at once cut off all communication between the enemy and the country of Bavaria: but the Elector and Marſhal Villars, having timely notice of the march of Count Stirum towards Donawert, quitted the banks of the river Lech, with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and marched with ſo much diligence, that Count Stirum found himſelf on a ſudden attacked in front by the main army, and in the rear by the Marquis Duſſon, who came out of his entrenchments at Dillingen. That action happened near Hockſtedt, and proved very unfortunate to the Germans, tho' they did not

Count Stirum defeated.

loſe

loſe a great number of men; for the loſs of their cannon and baggage rendered that body, in a manner, unſerviceable during the reſt of the campaign. 1704

This diſgrace, and the taking of Briſac, which was ſurrendered to the Duke of Burgundy, diſappointed the projects of Prince Lewis of Baden, whoſe forces, being divided, did nothing at all; while, on the other hand, the French improved that favourable opportunity; and, to conclude their campaign, took the fortreſs of Landau, notwithſtanding the brave defence of the governor, and obtained a victory over the army ſent to relieve the place. Kempton and Augſburg had the ſame fate, and the Empire was never in ſuch danger. The delays and unſeaſonable diſputes of its members, were the occaſion of ſo many diſgraces to the common cauſe, and furniſhed matter for all theſe advantages to the enemy. In a word, the Queen of England and the States General were the only powers engaged in the confederacy, that anſwered by real effects their treaties and engagements. Their forces alone acted the offenſive part, tho' they were weakened by 15 battalions ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Empire.

The French take ſeveral places.

The Confederates, upon application made from his Imperial Majeſty, bent all their thoughts on reducing the Elector of Bavaria; and their meaſures were ſo wiſely concerted, kept with ſo much ſecrecy, and ſo vigorouſly executed, that hiſtory cannot afford the like inſtance. The Duke of Marlborough being arrived in Holland, and all things ripe for that great deſign, the Engliſh forces began to move towards Coblentz. This did not ſurprize the French, who, by the preparations made in that place, thought the Allies deſigned to open the campaign with the ſiege of Traerbach, and endeavour to advance towards France along the Moſelle. Upon this ſuppoſition they took convenient meaſures to ſtop their pro-

The Duke of Marlborough marches to relieve the Empire.

1704 greſs; but were at a loſs when they ſaw the Duke of Marlborough advancing towards the Neckar. This made them very uneaſy; yet they carried their thoughts no farther than the banks of the Rhine, and believed that his grace would either attack Landau, or march towards Stratſburg, to oblige the French to recal their forces from Bavaria; while Prince Lewis of Baden, with the imperial forces, ſhould reduce the elector, who had lately received a great reinforcement from France, notwithſtanding the many endeavours of Prince Lewis to cut off his communication with the French, or hinder his retreat from Donau Schingen to Ulm. This was ſo confidently believed at Paris, that they owned no words could expreſs their ſurprize, upon advice, that the Duke of Marlborough had on a ſudden directed his march towards the Danube. Marſhal Villeroy was then ordered to repair with all poſſible ſpeed to the Rhine, and Marſhal Tallard to paſs the Black-Foreſt, to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria.

The Duke of Marlborough paſſed the Neckar the 4th of June, and, having reſted 2 or 3 days, advanced with all imaginable diligence for Suabia. He repaſſed the Neckar at Lauffen, and encamped at Monderlſeim, where Prince Eugene came the 10th to confer with him. The 11th, the army marched to Great Heppach, where Prince Lewis of Baden arrived two days after. The three generals had a long conference together, wherein they concerted the operations of the campaign. It was agreed, that Prince Eugene ſhould command on the Rhine, to obſerve the Marſhals Villeroy and Tallard, to defend the paſſage of the river, and cover the lines of Stolhoffen and the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, while the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Lewis ſhould advance towards Donawert, to ſeize that important poſt on the Danube, and act againſt the Elector of Bavaria: that the Imperial and Engliſh forces ſhould join; and that, during

Has a conference with the Princes Lewis and Eugene.

during their conjunction, the Prince and the Duke ſhould alternately give the word, and command the whole army. Accordingly Prince Eugene ſet out the 14th for Philipſburg, Prince Lewis for his army, and the Duke advanced to Eberſbach. The 16th, his grace advanced to Gros Seinſſen, where he continued 4 days. The 21ſt, he decamped from Seinſſen, and being joined in his march by the forces of Holland, Lunenburg, and Heſſe-Caſſel, encamped about Launſheim, and the next day joined Prince Lewis of Baden at Weſterſteten. His grace, in this long march, had interviews with the Electors of Mentz, Triers, and other potentates, and, in a word, led his army above 60 German leagues, from the Maeſe to the Danube, in 30 days. 1704

Civilities that paſſed between his grace and the two Princes.

The Prince of Baden told his Grace, "That "he was come to ſave the Empire, and give him "an opportunity to vindicate his honour, which "he was ſenſible, with many people, was in "ſome meaſure at the laſt ſtake;" alluding to the reflections then paſſed upon him, for letting the French join the Elector of Bavaria, when he had not force enough to oppoſe them. To which the Duke replied, "That he came to learn from him "how to do the Empire ſervice; for they muſt "want judgment who did not know that the "Prince of Baden had not only, when his health "would permit him, preſerved the Empire, but "extended its conqueſts." After this, Prince Eugene came to pay his Grace a viſit, and, being preſent at a review of the Duke's army, which made the beſt appearance that could be, he told the Duke, "My Lord, I never ſaw better horſes, "better clothes, finer belts and accoutrements; "yet all theſe may be had for money: but there "is a ſpirit in the looks of your men, which "ſurpaſſes all theſe, and cannot be purchaſed. "The like to this, I muſt own with ſurprize, I "never ſaw in my life." To which his Grace

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replied, "Sir, if it be as you ſay, that ſpirit is "breathed into them by your Highneſs's pre-"ſence." It was by means of Prince Eugene that his Grace obtained, for the honour of himſelf and nation, that rank above-mentioned, which equalled him to the firſt General in Chriſtendom; to command alternately with the two Princes, and that in the heart of the Imperial territories, where always, till then, the generals of the Empire held the precedence.

The Bavarians entrenched at Schellenberg.

The * Elector of Bavaria judging by the march of the Allies, that the generals of the Confederate army intended to attack Donawert, made a detachment of his beſt troops to reinforce Count d' Arco, poſted near that place at Schellenberg, where he had caſt up great entrenchments, and had ſome thouſands of pioneers employed for ſeveral days to perfect thoſe works, which covered Donawert: but notwithſtanding this, and the number of troops which defended them, the Duke of Marlborough reſolved to attack the enemy, and the neceſſary orders were given to the army.

The Duke of Marlborough advances to attack them.

The 2d of July his Grace advanced accordingly at three in the morning, with a detachment of 600 foot and 30 ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch, beſides 3 battalions of Imperial grenadiers; and the reſt of the army followed with all poſſible diligence. But the way being very bad and long, that detachment could not come to the river Wernitz, which runs by Donawert, till about noon, and it was 3 o'clock before it could get over that river with the artillery. The Duke having paſſed it at the head of the cavalry, viewed the entrenchments, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the attack.

Count

* Narrative of the battle of Schellenberg publiſhed by the Allies, and the Count d' Arco's letter to the Elector his maſter.

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Count d' Arco had not the leaſt notice of the Allies approach, till they were diſcovered from a neighbouring hill, marching, as he thought, to Donawert. This made him forward his entrenchment, which was yet unfiniſhed, with great diligence, till about 4 in the afternoon the Allies were come ſo near, that he perceived they deſigned an attack: upon which he drew up his men in order of battle; placing 14 battalions in the front of the 1ſt and 2d lines, and 4 French regiments and 6 battalions on the right and left. The horſe and dragoons he poſted on the right, becauſe that was the beſt ground.

Count d' Arco prepares to receive him.

In the mean time the artillery of the Allies began to thunder againſt the enemy, who anſwered briſkly from their batteries, and gave room, by their diſpoſitions, to judge that the action would be very hot. Theſe preparations being over, the Engliſh and Dutch began the attack, with an unparallelled intrepidity, before the imperialiſts came up, and met with a vigorous defence. They advanced in 6 columns, ſupported by many ſquadrons of horſe in the rear, beſides others extending to the hill. They marched firſt to the wood on the right, thinking to break through there, and then to attack the entrenchments on all ſides; but finding it impracticable, they marched again to the corner of the line in view of the city, and there fell on with a great fire from the Engliſh battalions, and abundance of cannon on the right.

Battle of Schellenberg.

The Bavarian troops were poſted in the mouth of the attack, and, after their fire, fell twice upon the Allies with their bayonets in their pieces, and made great ſlaughter. In a word, the aſſailants found ſuch gallant reſiſtance, that moſt of their firſt ranks were killed, but ſpeedily ſupplied by others. The fire encreaſed on both ſides, and the Dutch battalions were often repulſed, and many of them killed by the great fire from the

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trenches. Count d' Arco, in great hopes of victory, ſent 3 French battalions, and one Bavarian to the town, with orders to the commanding officer there to poſt them in the covert-way, where it joined the entrenchment, from whence they might have made ſuch a fire, as would have well enough covered them on the left: but the Duke being aware of this, broke furiouſly into the entrenchments ſo that Count d' Arco came thither too late with two ſquadrons of dragoons. The Count thought there was nothing then left him to do but to think of retiring, to prevent his being encompaſſed. Thus, after an engagement of about an hour and an half, when the Imperialiſts arrived, the entrenchments were entered, and the Confederates made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy. Lieutenant-General Goor, who commanded the firſt detachment of foot, was killed, as was alſo Major-General Beinheim; both in the Dutch ſervice, and both very much lamented. The horſe and dragoons ſhared the glory of the day with the infantry. The firſt detachment of them was commanded by Lieutenant-General Lumley and Lieutenant-General Hompeſch. All the Confederate troops that engaged behaved themſelves with a great deal of bravery: But as the attack was begun by a battalion of the Engliſh foot guards, and the regiments of Orkney and Ingoldſby, it muſt be ſuppoſed that they ſuffered more than any others, and that of Orkney, in particular, was exceedingly ſhattered.

The Bavarians beaten.

Number of the enemy.

The forces of the enemy conſiſted of 2 battalions of the Elector's guards, 1 of grenadiers, 13 other Bavarian battalions, 5 French, 4 regiments of cuiraſſiers, and 3 ſquadrons of dragoons, making 32,000 men, all choice troops, commanded in chief by Count d' Arco, and under him by three Bavarian and two French Lieutenant-Generals.

As

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As ſoon as the Allies had poſſeſſed the entrenchments, the greateſt part of the enemy ran away to Donawert and the Danube: but being cloſely purſued by the Confederate horſe and dragoons, the greateſt part followed the example of their generals, who flung themſelves into that river, and ſwam over. The reaſon was, that the bridge, to their great mortification, broke down under the croud, and the gate was kept ſhut by the governor's commands a long time, tho' Count d'Arco deſired it might be opened, and ſent him notice that he was on the left with the retiring troops. A regiment of dragoons coming thither on foot, made a brave reſiſtance, and kept the Allies off for ſome time. Thoſe on the right, being too far from the town, and knowing the bridge was broke, retired towards the wood of Newburg.

The fugitives ſwim over the Danube.

The Allies took 16 pieces of cannon, and 13 colours or ſtandards. The Duke of Marlborough gained great honour in this action; having given his orders with an extraordinary preſence of mind, and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt danger. Prince Lewis of Baden, who likewiſe performed the part of a brave and experienced general, was wounded; as was alſo the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who gave ſignal proofs of his courage on this occaſion. Count Stirum was dangerouſly wounded: General Thungen, Count Horn, Major-General Wood, Major-General Paland, and ſeveral other officers of note were alſo wounded.

The Duke of Marlborough gains great honour.

Next morning the Duke took poſſeſſion of Donawert, which the Bavarian garriſon quitted upon his approach: but they had not time to deſtroy their ammunition and proviſions, as they were ordered to do, and had then filled the houſes with ſtraw to burn the place.

He takes poſſeſſion of Donawert.

The Confederate army, having reſted ſome days near Donawert, paſſed the Danube, and afterwards

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terwards the Lech; the Elector of Bavaria not thinking fit to oppoſe their paſſage, and retiring to Augſburg, where he entrenched himſelf. The Allies beſieged and took Rain, a fortreſs in Bavaria, and the enemy quitted Newburg on the Danube. The Confederate army advanced afterwards directly to Augsburg, and forced the enemy to quit Freidberg near that place. Mean time, there were ſome overtures made towards a peace, between the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria, and Count Wratiſlau was ſent to confer with the latter: but when the treaty was ready to be ſigned, it was found that his Electoral Highneſs, who valued himſelf ſo much upon his honour, had not ſcrupled to ſtoop to an ignoble diſſimulation; for he then declared, that he had advice, that the Marſhal de Tallard was coming to his aſſiſtance, and that his honour could not permit him to hearken to a ſeparate treaty, as long as the French King made ſuch efforts to ſupport him. Hereupon the negotiations broke up, and the Elector haughtily ſaid, "He had rather be a private dragoon in France, than a chief general in the Emperor's ſervice."

Rain taken.

Overtures of peace.

The expectation of that Prince, however, was not groundleſs: for the Marſhal de Tallard having raiſed the ſiege of Villingen, before which place he had loſt 6 or 700 men, marched directly towards Ulm, and met with no manner of oppoſition. He went from thence to the camp of the Elector near Augsburg, and concerted with him the conjunction of their forces.

Bavaria ravaged.

The Allies having judged it impracticable to attack the Bavarians in their entrenchments, and deſpairing of any accommodation, ſent out a ſtrong body of horſe, who deſtroyed the country between Augsburg and Munich with fire and ſword, and brought away what cattle and other things they could take. This was done in order to deprive the enemy of all means of ſubſiſtence on

on that ſide, and to oblige them to quit their camp. The Elector complained loudly of this ſeverity, and wrote to the Duke of Marlborough thereupon: but received an anſwer little to his ſatisfaction. 1704

That expedition being over, the Confederates held a great council of war, wherein it was reſolved to return towards the Danube, and beſiege Ingolſtadt. Prince Lewis of Baden undertook to command the ſiege, and the Duke of Marlborough to cover it: and Prince Eugene, who had followed the Marſhal de Tallard, and was encamped near Donawert, was to join the Duke in caſe of need. The army decamped accordingly from Friedberg towards Aiche.

About this time his Grace received a letter of thanks, writ in Latin, in the Emperor's own hands; an honour ſeldom done to any below a ſovereign prince. In this piece his Imperial Majeſty expreſſes himſelf thus: "Nothing can be more glorious than what you have done, in the conjunction of your army with mine, in the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous attack, and forcing of the enemies camp near Donawert, on the 2d of this month; ſince my generals themſelves and miniſters declare, that the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe (which is more acceptable and advantageous to me at this preſent time, than almoſt any thing elſe that could befal me) is chiefly owing to your counſel, prudence, and diſpatch, and the wonderful bravery and conſtancy of the troops that fought under your command.—— That you carry on, with the ſame alacrity and induſtry, what you have ſo valiantly and victoriouſly begun; and that, in conjunction with the Prince of Baden my lieutenant-general, and other commanders of my troops, you uſe your utmoſt endeavours and force, that the end may anſwer this beginning; and that the war which the Bavarian hath ſeditiouſly raiſed in

The Emperor's letter to the Duke of Marlborough on the victory of Schellenberg.

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" in the bowels of Germany, may be brought to a " ſpeedy concluſion, is not what I do ſo much " exhort you to, as I aſſuredly expect."

P. Eugene's army in danger.

Prince Eugene had all this while a difficult taſk to perform. The Palatine troops poſted in the lines, and along the Rhine, were reinforced with 10,000 Pruſſians detached from the Imperial army, and part of the troops of the circle of Weſtphalia; but were not yet ſtrong enough to oppoſe the French: for Marſhal Villeroy being arrived at Landau, with the troops from the Netherlands, the enemy threatened to paſs the Rhine below Philipsburg, and attack the lines of Stolhoffen. They made great preparations to that effect; but the Duke of Marlborough having ordered the Daniſh infantry, in the ſervice of England and Holland, which was to join him, to reinforce Prince Eugene, his Highneſs took ſuch precautions, by erecting batteries in convenient places, and caſting up new entrenchments, that the enemy did not think fit to attempt the paſſage in that part; and therefore Marſhal Tallard marched back with a good army towards Strasburg, and, having there paſſed the Rhine, advanced towards the Black Foreſt, to ſuccour the Elector of Bavaria. Prince Eugene, having ſent notice thereof to the Duke of Marlborough, made ſeveral preparations, in order to paſs the Rhine, and attack the Marſhal Villeroy. In the mean time, the Elector and M. de Tallard actually joined, paſſed the Danube, and marched towards Donawert, in hopes to ſurpriſe his Highneſs, who was advanced that way, retake that place, and then invade the country of Wirtemberg, to oblige the Allies to quit Bavaria. The ſucceſs they had, much about the ſame ground, the year before, over Count Stirum, was no preſage of another victory; for they found Eugene on his guard, and the Duke of Marlborough ſo active and diligent, that his Grace and his Highneſs were joined, and actually marching to

to fight the enemy, before, or at the very ſame time, that they had advice of their conjunction. This occaſioned the memorable battle of Blenheim or Hockſtedt, which the laſt century, ſo famous for bloody tragedies, cannot parallel. But this great action, and the motions that preceded it, deſerve a more particular detail. 1704

His * Grace having continued about Rain, to watch the motions of the French, on the 10th of Auguſt he was informed, by Prince Eugene, that the French and Bavarians were paſſing the Danube, at Lawingen; whereupon his Grace ſent a detachment, under the command of General Churchill, with orders to paſs the Danube, and join his Serene Highneſs. And on the 11th, at three in the morning, the Confederate army marched, and joined that Prince at Munſter, where the two armies continued till the 12th, expecting their artillery, which could not come up with the ſame expedition as the troops.

Junction of the D. of Marlborough and P. Eugene.

The ſame day his Grace and Prince Eugene, with moſt of the generals, advanced under a guard of 40 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, to view the camp at Hockſtedt, in order to ſeize it; but they found it already poſſeſſed by the enemy, and of very difficult acceſs. The French could not believe the Allies would attack them here; and therefore, the next morning, made a general forage. They were poſted on a riſing ground, having a river and a moraſs before them; and beſides it appeared afterwards, that they were ſuperior in number.

They reconnoitre the enemy.

The difficulties they had to encounter did not diſcourage the generals of the Confederate army, who having reſolved to attack them the next morning,

March to attack them.

* This account is extracted from the journal of the Allies, and a letter writ to M. Chamillard by a French general officer. See more of the French account in the Hiſtory of Prince Eugene.

1704 ning, the whole army marched the 13th, by break of day, in 8 columns, and about 7 appeared before the camp of the enemy. The Imperialiſts, Pruſſians, and Danes were poſted on the right, under the command of Prince Eugene; and the Engliſh, Dutch, Heſſians, Lunenburghers, and other troops in the ſervice of England and Holland, made up the left wing of the Confederate army, under their reſpective generals. The Duke had the general command over the whole.

The enemy alarmed, arm themſelves in haſte.

The enemy was very much ſurpriſed at the approach of the Allies, and fired two guns as a ſignal for their foragers to return, which they did with precipitation; and this occaſioned a great confuſion in their camp. They formed themſelves, however, with all the expedition they could. Their right reached to the Danube, having the village of Blenheim in front, where was M. de Tallard's quarter, and the village of Lutzingen to the left, where was the Elector's quarter. All the firſt line of M. de Tallard's foot had its right to the Danube, that it might be at hand to be poſted in the village of Blenheim, which was before it. That firſt line was of 19 battalions. Next was the firſt line of horſe, on the left, extending towards the horſe of M. Marſin, the reſt of whoſe army reached as far as the hill of Lutzingen. The ſecond line was drawn up as uſual, with the infantry in the center. In the center of both armies there was a hill, which commanded all the plain, and whoſe declivity reached as far as the rivulet that ran along the front of their camp.

Mean time, his Grace, having given the neceſſary directions for the attack, the Imperialiſts marched along a wood near Volperſteten, and 16 battalions of the left advanced at the ſame time towards Blenheim; the generals of the Confederates deſigning, by that motion, to attack the enemy in the flank on both ſides. But as ſoon as

as they were ſenſible of it, they ſet on fire the villages of Volperſteten and Anterheim, and alſo the mills and ſome houſes of Blenheim, and made a great fire from their batteries, even before the forces of the Confederates appeared on the riſing ground near the Moraſs. The artillery of the Allies was brought to bear at that time, and by favour of its fire the foot forded the river, and bridges were made for the horſe. The French committed a fatal error in ſuffering the Allies to paſs the brook unmoleſted, and this fault was laid to the charge of Marſhal Tallard. That General when in England, told a friend of the Author's, that he ſaw, before the battle, from the Duke of Marlborough's diſpoſitions, that he had to deal with his maſter in the art of war.

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They burn ſome villages and mills.

The cannonading began between 8 and 9 in the morning, and continued till 1 in the afternoon; during which time the foot of the left advanced to Blenheim, to beat the enemy from that poſt, wherein they had caſt up an entrenchment with palliſades, and poſted 27 battalions, ſupported by 12 ſquadrons of dragoons. They made a ſtout reſiſtance, which obliged the Duke to order the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who commanded the whole body of the cavalry on the the left, to paſs the moraſs, to cut off the enemy poſted at Blenheim from the reſt of their forces. The paſſage being very difficult, the enemy repulſed the firſt ſquadrons of the Confederates with a great deal of fury. But the Prince advancing with the reſt, fell upon the French Gendarms and light horſe with an unparalleled vigour, and after 4 charges put them altogether to the rout. The enemy cauſed 3 battalions to advance, who, forming themſelves into one, attempted to ſtop the cavalry of the Allies; but were all cut in pieces.

Battle of Blenheim.

The village of that name attacked.

The right wing of the enemy routed.

1704

Things being in this condition, M. de Tallard conſidered that it was high time to draw off the dragoons and infantry out of the village of Blenheim, and reſolved upon it, exhorting his cavalry to ſtand their ground. He ſent a truſty perſon to M. de Marſin, to deſire him to face the enemy with ſome troops on the right of his village, and keep them in play, to favour the retreat of the infantry: but M. de Marſin repreſented to the meſſenger, that he had too much buſineſs in the front of his village and the reſt of the line, to ſpare any troops; he not being victorious, but only maintaining his ground. During this diſcourſe, the French horſe had again faced the Allies; but on a ſudden they were ordered to wheel about, which was done with all the diſorder that can be imagined. In ſhort, this was ſo precipitate a flight, that part of the cavalry, and all the Gendarms, having turned ſuddenly towards the Danube, into a narrow nook, which formed a demi-iſland, they found themſelves cut off from the reſt of the army, which forced multitudes of brave men to throw themſelves into the river, where they periſhed. M. de Tallard, fearing the ſame fate, ſurrendered to the adjutant of the Prince of Heſſe.

M. de Marſin unable to aſſiſt Tallard.

Several ſquadrons drowned, and M. de Tallard taken.

Meſſieurs de Clerambaut and Blanſac commanded the dragoons and infantry in the village of Blenheim. The former, without taking a reſolution worthy of his name, with a powerful body which was yet intire, and covered by the cannon of Hockſtedt, as ſoon as he ſaw the rout of the cavalry, cauſed his poſtilion to ſound the Danube, and throwing himſelf into it was drowned. The Duke having ſurrounded the village by ſeveral lines, advanced to block it up cloſe on the left flank, where the right of the French horſe was before poſted. The battalions were ſoon alarmed, and the Colonel of the royal regiment bethought himſelf of ſaving his life, and that of his ſoldiers; whom

Twenty-ſeven battalions and 10 ſquadrons taken priſoners.

whom he cauſed to lay down their arms, and himſelf ſurrendered the colours. The Duke of Marlborough, judging rightly, that there were old troops in that place, the overcoming of which would coſt him dear, made uſe of M. Denonville, his priſoner, to exhort them to accept of their lives. All yielded at laſt, tho' with reluctance, and the articles were ſigned. The troops were diſarmed, and their colours taken from them. 1704

The left wing routed.

While this was tranſacted on the Confederates left, Prince Eugene attacked the left of the enemy, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria and Marſhal Marſin; who, being advantageouſly poſted, made a ſtout reſiſtance, and diſputed the ground with a great deal of obſtinacy. But the defeat of Marſhal Tallard having diſcouraged them, they gave ground, and retired, having had 24 battalions almoſt cut in pieces. Their horſe likewiſe ſuffered very much. The troops of the left took 35 pieces of cannon, and thoſe of the right 10: but as the enemy had a greater number of them, it was ſuppoſed they had thrown them into the Danube, or in the Moraſs.

The Duke's behaviour before, in, and after this action.

It was obſerved this day, that the Duke was reſolved either to conquer or die: for, ſome hours before the battle, he devoted himſelf to God in the preſence of his chaplain, and received the ſacrament. When he was in the heat of action, one of the generals, after two attacks upon the enemy's lines, having wheeled off with the horſe in deſpair, he ſaid, Mr.——"You are under a miſtake; the enemy lies that way; you "have nothing to do but to face him, and the day "is your own." Upon which, that General returned to the charge, and helped to repulſe the enemy with a terrible ſlaughter. His Grace, after the battle, ordered all neceſſaries for the priſoners, and made viſits to the wounded. In particular, when he had the Marſhal de Tallard in

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his coach with him, his Grace ſaid to that General. "Tis to be confeſſed, Sir, that providence "has befriended me, in giving me the advantage "over you in the field of battle; but I have no "thing more to rejoice in, from its having eſpouſ-"ed my ſide, than that this advantage, which I "have gained, furniſhes me with an opportunity "of ſhewing the reſpect and eſteem I ſhall al-"ways bear to your perſon and character." But when the Marſhal afterwards told him, "That "his Grace had beaten the beſt troops in the "world:" The Duke replied, "Your Lord-"ſhip, I preſume, excepts thoſe who had the ho-"nour to beat them."

In great danger.

Biſhop Burnet relates, that his grace aſſured him, he never ſaw more evident characters of a ſpecial providence, than appeared this day. A ſignal one related to his own perſon. A cannon ball went into the ground ſo near, that he was ſome time quite covered with the cloud of duſt and earth that it raiſed about him.

The Elector retreats to Ulm.

The Elector of Bavaria retired over the Danube by the bridge of Lawingen, and marched directly for Ulm, to rally his ſcattered troops. He ſent orders at the ſame time to his troops in Augſburg, and other places, to quit them and join him; and accordingly the French marched out of Augſburg, carrying with them 4 hoſtages as a ſecurity for 2000 ſick or wounded men, which they had left in that place.

Augsburg taken into protection by the D. of Marlborough.

The magiſtrates, being aſſembled immediately after, ſent 4 deputies to the Duke, who the ſame night had their audience, and deſired his protection. His Grace anſwered, That they had nothing to fear from the troops of her Britannick Majeſty and the States, who were ſent only againſt the enemies of the Empire and their Allies. A detachment was ordered to take poſſeſſion of that important poſt, wherein the Elector, without the rein-

reinforcement of Marſhal Tallard, had been able to ſtop all the Confederate forces. 1704

The Allies had in the battle of Hockſtedt, 66 battalions and 181 ſquadrons: the enemies had 84 battalions and 150 ſquadrons. As ſome of their battalions were not compleat, and one with another, they were reckoned but at 400 men, this made them 7320 men ſuperior to the Allies in foot; and 31 ſquadrons, at 100 horſe each, which the Allies had more than they, making 3100, their army was in the whole 4220 men ſuperior to the Allies. Marſhal Tallard, with the other officers of note, was ſent towards Frankfort and Hanua, under a guard of dragoons. Upon a repartition of the other priſoners, who were ſent into the neighbouring places, they were found to exceed 13,000 officers and ſoldiers, including about 3000, who liſted themſelves in the Confederate troops. Theſe, with the killed and wounded, made the loſs of the enemy amount to almoſt 40,000 men. They loſt alſo 5400 carriages, 34 coaches full of the Ladies of their officers, 334 mules loaded with Equipages, 40 pieces of large cannon, and many ſmall ones, 24 mortars, 129 colours and 15 ſtandards taken by the Duke of Marlborough, 80 more colours or ſtandards taken by Prince Eugene, 17 pair of kettle-drums, the military cheſt, the chancery, the diſpenſary, 3600 tents, and 25 copper pontoons. The loſs of the Allies amounted to near 12,000 men killed or wounded. *Strength and loſs of each army.*

The conſequence of this victory, after that at Schellenberg, being the reduction of all Bavaria, and the places which the Elector had taken from the Empire, occaſioned congratulatory letters to his Grace, from moſt of the potentates of Europe, in particular from the States-General and the Emperor. That from the States compliments him thus.

"Your firſt exploits this campaign at Schellen-
"berg, gave us grounds to expect ſomething bet-

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Letter from the States General to the D. of Marlborough.

" ter; but we durſt not extend our hopes to ſo
" great and compleat a victory, as this which you
" have obtained over the enemy, with the arms
" of the Allies.

" This battle will ſet the greatneſs of your
" merit in its true luſtre: a battle! the glory
" of which the greateſt captains of former ages
" may envy you; and the memory of which can
" never periſh in ſucceeding ages. We moſt hum-
" bly congratulate your excellency upon it; re-
" joicing in the glory you have acquired by it,
" as well as for the advantage that muſt enſue
" upon it to the common cauſe.

" This action will inſtruct France, that her
" forces are not always invincible, and will prove
" ſuch a blow, as her King never felt in the
" whole courſe of his reign."

The Emperor's letter was written with his own hand, and directed to the Duke as Prince of Mindelheim; which title his grace accepted with the Queen's leave, after having refuſed the patent till he knew her pleaſure. His Imperial Majeſty informs him, " That he has freely, and of his own

From the Emperor to him as Pr. of Mindelheim.

" accord, admitted him among the Princes of the
" Roman Empire; not ſo much in conſideration
" of the nobility of his extraction, as upon the
" account of his perſonal merit, and his great
" deſerts towards the Auguſt houſe of Auſtria,
" and the holy Roman Empire.

" I have been willing, *his Majeſty continues*,
" that this publick monument of the ſupreme ho-
" nour in Germany, which I have ſo deſervedly
" conferred upon you, ſhould remain, that it may
" be more and more made appear to the whole
" world, how much I, and all the Empire, owe
" to the moſt ſerene Queen of Great-Britain, for
" having ſent her powerful aſſiſtance as far as Ba-
" varia itſelf, under your conduct; and alſo to
" your Highneſs, upon account that things have
" been ſo prudently, ſo vigorouſly, and ſo ſucceſs-

" fully

" fully tranſacted.—Theſe actions are ſo great, 1704
" and particularly that of Hockſtedt, that we may
" rejoice to ſee, not only the moſt pernicious ef-
" forts of the enemy repulſed, and the affairs of
" Germany, which were ſomewhat tottering, and
" thoſe of all Europe, ſecured and ſettled again;
" but likewiſe, it may be reaſonably hoped, that the
" full and perfect liberty of the Chriſtian world
" ſhould be reſcued from the power of France,
" which was ſo imminently impending over it."

His Imperial Majeſty alſo ordered a pillar to be erected at Hockſtedt, to perpetuate the memory of this glorious battle, and his own gratitude, by an elegant Latin inſcription, which remained till the general peace, when the Elector of Bavaria, being reſtored to his dominions, cauſed it to be demoliſhed. We muſt not omit the tranſlation of this inſcription, compoſed by M. Stepney, his Grace's miniſter at the Diet of the Empire, as it does ſo much honour to our great countryman.

Monument in memory of the battle of Blenheim.

A Monument Sacred to Eternal Memory.
On the 13th day of Auguſt, 1704,
In, and near this place,
Were routed, after an incredible ſlaughter,
The French and Bavarian armies,
Under the command
Of Emanuel, the Elector,
And the Marſhals of France, Tallard and Marſin:
The firſt of whom was taken
Priſoner in the battle,
With 40 other generals of the firſt rank,
900 officers of leſſer note,
And 12,000 common ſoldiers,
Beſides 14000 put to the ſword in the field of battle,
And 4000 puſhed into the Danube.
The victorious army was commanded,
With an Immortal glory,
By
John, Duke of Marlborough, an Engliſhman,
Who,

1704 Who,
Under the happy influence of his Miſtreſs, Queen
[ANNE,
And the States-General of the United Netherlands;
Led a valiant army from the Thames, and the
[Maeſe, to the Danube,
To ſuccour Germany, that was reduced to the laſt
[extremity:
Which expedition he began to accompliſh with
[the greateſt courage,
In conjunction with the forces under Lewis, Prince
[of Baden,
By taking the ſtrong paſs and mount of Donawert,
That ſeemed impregnable through its deep en-
[trenchments;
And afterwards, having rejoined the forces com-
[manded by
Prince Eugene of Savoy, brought to perfection,
With the ſame conſtancy of mind, and ſucceſs,
In the deciſive battle that was fought here between
[Blenheim and Hockſtedt.
The enemies army
Had the advantage of numbers, and ground on their
[ſide;
Nor was there any other paſſage to victory,
For the Confederates, than through rivers and
[moraſſes.
From hence the generals of the Confederate ar-
[mies may know,
That valour overcomes all obſtacles;
Princes may learn,
That conſpiracies with the enemies of their native
[country
Go ſeldom unpuniſhed:
And Lewis XIV
Muſt at laſt confeſs,
That no Prince whatſoever ought to be called
Great
And happy,
Before his death.

THE

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramillies, and the Reduction of Brabant and Flanders.

THE Duke of Marlborough, having marched to Sefellingen, continued there ſome days, to concert with the Imperial generals the further operations of the campaign. On the 23d of Auguſt, a trumpeter came to his camp, from the Elector of Bavaria, with a letter for his Grace, deſiring him to give conveyance to one incloſed for the Electreſs; who having ſet out to follow her huſband, and not been able to join him, was returned to Munich with her

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His Grace forwards a letter from the Elector to the Electreſs.

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her children, under a guard of 14 ſquadrons. The Duke ſent immediately that letter to her Electoral Highneſs by a trumpeter, and on the 24th had a long conference with Prince Lewis (who had abandoned the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, by the advice of the other princes, in the opinion that it muſt ſoon ſurrender voluntarily) and Prince Eugene, wherein it was reſolved, that ſince the enemy were retiring towards the Rhine, all the forces ſhould likewiſe march that way, except 20 battalions and 40 ſquadrons, which ſhould be left under the command of General Thungen, to carry on the ſiege of Ulm. It was reſolved alſo, that Count Wratiſlau, miniſter of the Emperor, ſhould continue in the camp before that place, to manage the negotiations with the Electreſs of Bavaria, who made ſome propoſals to deliver up that place, and the whole Electorate, upon certain conditions.

Marches towards the Rhine.

This reſolution being taken, the Confederate troops began their march from the neighbourhood of Ulm by different routs, and part of the Engliſh paſſed the Neckar at Lauffen the 1ſt of September, and the 3d encamped at Epingen. They then marched to join the reſt of the Confederate troops about Philipſburg, where Prince Eugene arrived the 2d, to give the neceſſary directions for paſſing the Rhine, the ſiege of Landau being reſolved upon. About this time the three Princes made a viſit to the Duke of Wirtemberg at Stutgard, where they were received with all imaginable reſpect and magnificence.

Ulm ſurrendered.

General Thungen, who was left to carry on the Siege of Ulm, having formed it, and received his great artillery the 8th of September, the garriſon beat a parley the 10th, and the 11th ſurrendered the place upon honourable terms; which the Imperial general granted, that no time might be loſt from the further execution of the projects of the campaign. The Imperialiſts found in Ulm 122 pieces of braſs cannon, 12 of iron, 25 mortars

tars of braſs, 1 of iron, 1200 barrels of gunpowder, with a great quantity of other ammunition. General Thungen, having reduced that place, made a detachment of ſome part of his troops to reinforce the Imperialiſts and Franconians about Ingolſtadt, which was ſtill blocked up, and marched with the reſt to the camp before Landau. 1704

The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Lewis, and Prince Eugene, having paſſed the Rhine, and encamped about the Spierbach; the Marſhal Villeroy aſſembled all his troops, and poſted himſelf on the river Queich, in a moſt advantageous camp between Landau and Germerſheim, where he ſeemed reſolved to make a ſtand: but, upon the motion of the Confederates, he retired towards Haguenau, and the Allies purſued him as far as the river Lutter; from whence Prince Lewis marched back to beſiege Landau, and the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene encamped at Croon-Weiſſenburg to cover the ſiege. The place was inveſted the 13th of September, and the Duke of Montfort, Major-General, who had put a reinforcement into it, was attacked in his return by the Imperial huſſars, and put to the rout. That General made a noble reſiſtance, but was mortally wounded, ſo that he died two days after. All poſſible care was taken to bring the heavy artillery before Landau; but yet it was impoſſible to open the trenches till the 19th. The King of the Romans, who commanded the ſiege in chief, arrived in the camp the 22d, and the Duke of Marlborough waited upon him the next day. About this time the Duke of Lorrain ſent one of his chamberlains to compliment the King, and another to the Duke of Marlborough; and deſired, that his territories, which lay open to the excurſions of the huſſars, might be preſerved. *Landau inveſted.*

The ſiege of Landau laſted much longer than was expected at firſt; and thoſe who had flattered themſelves,

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themſelves, that the fortifications of that place were not compleated, were very much miſtaken. The damage they had received in the two laſt ſieges was not only repaired, but ſeveral new works were now made to that place, which was much ſtronger than before, and better provided. The French having obſerved, that the ſafety of the town conſiſted in the out-works, had not only enlarged the redoubt called the Lunette of Melac, (which was taken the 10th of October, after a ſtout reſiſtance) but they had undermined all the Glacis, counterſcarps, and covert-ways, which rendered the approaches extraordinarily difficult, and took up a conſiderable time; the beſiegers being obliged to advance to the counterſcarp by ſap, without daring to attempt it otherwiſe. Having diſcovered ſeveral mines, they ventured the 18th to beat the enemy from the counterſcarp: but the attack beginning two hours ſooner than had been reſolved, they could not maintain their ground on the left, and only lodged themſelves on the ſaliant angle on the right. They continued the ſap, and the 31ſt they lodged themſelves on the palliſades, and raiſed batteries to make a breach.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

Duke of Marlborough leaves Pr. Eugene to cover the ſiege.

The length of that ſiege made the Duke of Marlborough very uneaſy at Croon-Weiſſenberg, his Grace being afraid that he ſhould not have time to execute his deſigns on the Moſelle, which were no leſs important than the taking of Landau. This uneaſineſs increaſed upon advice, that the French intended to ſend a reinforcement towards Triers, from the Netherlands and Haguenau. He then reſolved to purſue the enemy, and to march thither in perſon with part of his forces; leaving the reſt, under the command of Prince Eugene, at Croon-Weiſſenberg. This reſolution being taken, his Grace ſent ſome battalions, and a detachment of horſe, to poſſeſs Homburg, with orders to fortify that poſt. That detachment was followed by

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by another, with the artillery, commanded by Colonel Blood; and on the 22d, the reſt of the forces deſigned for that expedition marched to Homburg, where the Duke joined them the 24th. His Grace marched with great expedition thro' a mountainous country, almoſt deſert, in order to prevent the junction of the troops from the two camps of the enemy. He arrived the 28th, at night, at Hermerſkel, within 6 leagues of Triers, where 3 deputies of that city came to him, and acquainted him, that the French having ſtill 300 men in the fort, they were apprehenſive of ſome ill uſage, if his Grace did not prevent it. This advice obliged him to march the 29th, before break of day, with all the cavalry, and 4 battalions; and about 11 o'clock, his van-guard appearing in ſight of Triers, the French quitted the fort, having thrown their ammunition and ſome corn into the Moſelle. His dragoons purſued them to the banks of the river, and took part of their baggage, and 10 or 12 priſoners. They had no ſooner paſſed the river, than they burnt the flying-bridge, and in all likelihood would have done more damage, had they had time to execute it.

His Grace takes poſſeſſion of Homburg.

And Triers.

The Duke, having thus poſſeſſed that important poſt, ſummoned a great number of pioneers to work on the fortifications, and went on the 31ſt of October to view the ground about the Saar; cauſing a camp to be marked there for the horſe, to cover thoſe fortifications, where they encamped the next day. The 1ſt of November, he made the repartition of the winter-quarters to the ſeveral generals under him, went to Traerbach, took a narrow view of the place, gave the neceſſary orders for the ſiege of it by the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and then returned to the camp of Croon-Weiſſenberg. The French all this while made no motions, but perfected their lines about Haguenau. Their parties appeared

Orders the ſiege of Traerbach.

1704

peared frequently on the other ſide of the Rhine, but more to get horſes than any thing elſe.

Frequent expreſſes arrived in the camp before Landau from Bavaria; for the Emperor having referred to the King of the Romans the management of the war, nothing could be done in the treaty without his advice. The States of Bavaria made ſeveral offers for an accommodation, but they were rejected, and the evacuation of Straubingen and Paſſau was inſiſted on as a preliminary towards a treaty. The Marquis of Prie, Embaſſador of Savoy, arrived at Croon-Weiſſenberg, to confer with the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. He had afterwards audience of the King of the Romans; and in a conference with that Monarch, Prince Lewis of Baden, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, they concerted the number of forces to be ſent into Italy, and their march. The envoy of the king of Poland likewiſe arrived there, and it was agreed that the Duke of Marlborough ſhould take a journey to the court of Berlin. Mean time, the length of the ſiege of Landau gave birth to a world of ſpeculations, and revived ſeveral diſcourſes, to the prejudice of Prince Lewis of Baden. But, beſides that Landau was fortified, and its garriſon numerous, the beſiegers were ſhort in their artillery, ammunition, and other neceſſaries.

Concerts the operations in Italy.

The Duke of Marlborough, having taken leave of the King of the Romans, and the two Princes, ſet out for Berlin by the way of Caſſel, where he was welcomed with the diſcharge of the cannon of the place, and received with all imaginable honours. He continued his journey from thence, and arrived at the capital of Brandenburg the 22d of November in the evening. His Grace, upon his coming there, was met out of the town by the King's great chamberlain, the Field-Marſhal, the Lord Ray, envoy extraordinary from the Queen of Great Britain, and ſeveral other perſons of qua-

quality, who conducted him to the houſe for entertainment of embaſſadors, where, with his retinue, he was lodged, and entertained during his ſtay there. He had audience that evening of the King and Queen, and was received with great kindneſs and eſteem. The 24th the Prince royal entertained him at dinner, where were the King and Queen, with the foreign miniſters, and ſeveral perſons of quality; and at night his royal highneſs gave a ſupper, and afterwards a ſplendid ball, for his Grace's entertainment. The 25th, the King had for his diverſion a combat of wild beaſts in his amphitheatre; and at a ſupper which the Lord Raby gave his Grace, his Majeſty, with the Margrave his brother, came and ſupped with him. The miniſters of this court, the foreign miniſters, and other perſons of quality, all ſtrove in a particular manner to expreſs their ſenſe of his perſonal merit, and of the ſignal advantages the Empire had received by his courage and conduct. The 26th, accompanied by the Prince Royal of Pruſſia, the Duke left Berlin, and proceeded for Hanover; being extremely well ſatisfied with his reception, and the ſucceſs of his negotiation. The King gave him, at his departure, a hat, with a diamond button and loop, and a diamond hatband, valued at between 20 and 30,000 crowns; two fine ſaddle-horſes, with very rich furniture, and many other preſents. His Majeſty alſo gave noble preſents to his ſecretary, and the other principal perſons of his Grace's retinue.

1704

The Duke of Marlborough's reception at Berlin.

The Duke, in this viſit, prevailed with the King to continue, and even to augment his forces in Italy, when he was on the point of recalling them from the Duke of Savoy's ſervice; which kept the Savoyard ſteady to the alliance. And his Grace alſo laid down ſuch ſchemes to the court of Berlin, as deferred their pretenſions to the late King William's eſtate to a better opportunity, and

Succeſs of his negotiations there.

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prevented ſome miſunderſtandings betwixt the Pruſſians and the Dutch about that affair: which wiſe conduct of his, in theſe particulars, cauſed the whole Confederacy to acknowledge, "That "he had done the greateſt ſervices that could "be, to the common cauſe, at that juncture."

Treaty with the Electreſs of Bavaria.

The treaty with the Electreſs of Bavaria was at laſt concluded, and ſigned by the King of the Romans in the camp before Landau. The chief articles of it were, "That Ingoldſtadt, Landſhut, "Branau, and all the other fortreſſes in Bava-"ria, were to be put into the hands of the Em-"peror: that the Bavarian troops ſhould be im-"mediately diſbanded, except ſuch who would "voluntarily enter into the Emperor's ſervice: "that the Electreſs ſhould be allowed to keep "400 men for her guard in Munich; but that "the fortifications of that place ſhould be de-"moliſhed: that a certain ſum ſhould be allowed "to that Princeſs, out of the yearly income of "the Electorate, for the ſupport of her court and "family; with ſeveral other particulars relating "to the contributions there." All the Confede-rates were glad to hear that affair was adjuſted, except ſome of the miniſters at Vienna, who had intereſt enough to make the Emperor heſitate ſe-veral days about the ratification of that treaty.

The Imperial troops being marched to take poſſeſſion of Ingoldſtadt, the Bavarian garriſon re-fuſed to evacuate that place, and declared, that they would not do it till they were paid off their arrears. Their generals uſed all poſſible endea-vours to perſuade them to ſubmit, but to no pur-poſe. How this affair was at laſt adjuſted by Prince Eugene, I have related in the life of that Hero.

M. de Laubaunie, governor of Landau, continu-ed to make a gallant defence. The Imperialiſts carried on their approaches by the ſap, and their batteries being finiſhed, they played upon the half-

1704

half-moon, and other works, with a great deal of fury. They alſo prepared galleries to paſs the ditch, and ſtorm the counter-guards. The half-moon was ſtormed the 15th of November, and the beſiegers lodged themſelves on it with very little loſs. The enemy were afterwards obliged to quit the counter-guards, and all things being ready for a general-ſtorm, the governor beat a parley the 23d. Hoſtages were then exchanged, and the King of the Romans was willing to grant them honourable conditions. The garriſon marched out the 26th, in the preſence of the King, the Elector-Palatine, Prince Lewis, Prince Eugene, and ſeveral other Princes and generals. They were about 3400; and, as they were at the beginning of the ſiege 7000 ſtrong, they had loſt very near as many men as the beſiegers. The King of the Romans went into the place, which was but a heap of ruins, and gave the command of it to the Count de Friſe, who the year before defended it againſt the French. M. de Laubanie, the governor, having been blinded by a bomb, could not march out with his garriſon thro' the breach, but was forced to ſit in a calaſh.

Landau taken.

The Engliſh forces, having continued at Croon-Weiſſenberg as long as there was any likelihood that the French would attempt to relieve Landau, decamped the middle of November. The foot embarked on the Rhine for Holland, and the horſe marched by much the ſame rout they kept when they came into Germany. I muſt juſt take notice, that while the Imperial army was before Landau, and the French near Haguenau, the governor of Friburg attempted to ſurpriſe Old Briſac, in the ſame manner as Prince Eugene had attempted to ſurpriſe Cremona. The ſame Prince projected this enterpriſe, and I have given ſome account of it in his life.

The Engliſh go into winter-quarters.

Traebach being inveſted the beginning of November, the batteries began to play the 18th with

The ſiege of Traebach.

1704 ſo much ſucceſs, that on the 21ſt, the beſiegers attempted to ſtorm and ſcalade the caſtle; but the rock proved ſo ſteep on that ſide, and the rain was ſo violent, that they were obliged to retire. They made another attempt the 23d, in the night, when part of the troops commanded for that ſervice miſſed their way; and ſo the Allies were obliged to abandon that attack, and remove their batteries on the other ſide, where the aſcent of the rock was more eaſy. It was at firſt thought that the French would interrupt that ſiege; but they having ſent their troops into winter-quarters, made no motions for that purpoſe. M. d' Averquerque, who had this year commanded in the Netherlands, and now lay encamped to cover the ſiege, was ordered to ſeparate the forces of the States, and return to the Hague, where the Duke of Marlborough arrived the 13th of December. His Grace came to Hanover the 1ſt, was received with all imaginable honours, and continued there 4 days, when, having finiſhed his negotiations, he ſet out for Amſterdam, having been invited thither in great ceremony. His reception was equal to the ſolemnity of his invitation. Burgomaſter Whitſen, and the penſionary, complimented him in the name of the whole magiſtracy, congratulating his ſafe return from his glorious campaign, and his victories at Schellenberg and Hockſtedt.

The Duke, after his arrival at the Hague, was daily in conference with the deputies of the States, and the foreign miniſters, about the preſent conjuncture of affairs. He received the thanks of the States-General, and an aſſembly was convened on purpoſe to honour him with their publick acknowledgments, which were delivered in form by the Preſident of the week. He continued there till towards the end of the month, and then ſet ſail for England, being accompanied to Rotterdam by the Prince Royal of Pruſſia, and conducting with him Marſhal Tallard, and the reſt

He arrives in England.

reſt of the French General officers, who fell to the ſhare of the Engliſh. At his arrival in England, he met with ſtill greater honours: For the Queen and her royal Conſort received him with the higheſt eſteem, and he had the thanks of both houſes of Parliament. The Lord keeper, Sir Nathan Wright, made an harangue to him in the houſe of Lords, in which the great actions of the year are thus diſplayed. 1705

Ld. Keeper Wright's Speech to his Grace.

"The happy ſucceſs that has attended her "Majeſty's arms, under your Grace's conduct in "Germany, the laſt campaign, is ſo truly glori-"ous in all its circumſtances, that few inſtances "in the hiſtories of former ages can equal, much "leſs exceed the luſtre of it. Your Grace has "not overthrown young unſkilful Generals, raw "and undiſciplined troops, but your Grace has "conquered the French and Bavarian armies; "armies that were fully inſtructed in all the arts "of war; ſelect veteran troops, flushed with "former victories, and commanded by generals "of great experience and bravery.

"The glorious victories your Grace has ob-"tained at Schellenberg and Hockſtedt are very "great, very illuſtrious in themſelves; but "they are greater ſtill in their conſequences to "her Majeſty and her Allies. The Emperor is "thereby relieved; the Empire itſelf freed from "a dangerous enemy in the very bowels of "it; the exorbitant power of France is check'd; "and I hope a happy ſtep made towards reducing "that Monarch within his due bounds, and ſe-"curing the liberties of Europe.

"The honour of theſe glorious victories, "great as they are (under the immediate bleſſings "of Almighty God) is chiefly, if not alone, "owing to your Grace's conduct and valour. "This is the unanimous voice of England, and "all her Majeſty's Allies."

The

1704

The houſe of Commons thanked his Grace as uſual by a deputation, and addreſſed the Queen to perpetuate his memory: whereupon her Majeſty declared her inclination to grant the intereſt of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodſtock, free of all incumbrances; and a bill was paſſed by both houſes for that purpoſe.

Mannor of Woodſtock ſettled on him.

I conclude the tranſactions of this year with obſerving, that the ſtrong fortreſs of Traerbach was at laſt obliged to ſurrender to the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, notwithſtanding the bad weather, which had much retarded the ſiege. After a long and obſtinate defence, the governor of the caſtle perceiving that the Prince was drawing a line on the bank of the ditch, to erect a battery there, in order to make a breach in the wall, beat a parley on the 18th of December, about four in the afternoon, and hoſtages were exchanged to agree upon the points demanded. The garriſon marched out on the 20th, in the morning, being in all but 250 men; whereas they were 600 before the ſiege. This acquiſition coſt the Dutch 1000 men killed and wounded. They found in the place 26 cannon and 3 mortars, with a good quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and 24 hogſheads of wine.

Traerbach taken.

Notwithſtanding theſe wonderful ſucceſſes on the Danube and the Rhine, the affairs of the houſe of Auſtria were far from being in the beſt ſituation. What paſſed in Italy and Hungary is briefly related in the hiſtory of Prince Eugene. I muſt add, that the preſence of king Charles III on the frontiers of Spain, had not the influence that was generally expected. The Portugueſe, having in a long peace unlearned the art of war, were ſhort in their preparations; but yet, towards the latter end of the campaign, marched into Spain, and forced the Spaniards to entrench themſelves behind a river, where it was impracticable to attack them.

Affairs in Spain.

The

1704

The Confederate fleet in the Streights got, indeed, two conſiderable advantages. They took Gibraltar, a place ſo ſtrong by its ſituation, that the enemy did not fancy they could ſo much as have a deſign to attack it; and then they worſted the French fleet, which came out of Toulon clean, and extraordinary well manned, under the command of the count of Thouloufe; who, beſides that advantage, being ſuperior in great ſhips, and having 24 gallies with him, was confident of an entire victory. That young admiral found himſelf miſtaken, and, tho' he palliated his diſgrace in his letters to the French king, had not the aſſurance to ſay that he had got a victory, but uſed the more modeſt word advantage.

In the Streights.

The main ſeat of the war having been transferred into Germany from the Netherlands, nothing material was tranſacted on that ſide, and the many endeavours of M. d' Auverquerque to engage the enemy were to no purpoſe. They kept cloſe behind their lines; and the bombardment of Burges and Namur, with the taking of the fort of Iſabella, were not ſufficient to provoke the Spaniſh gravity of the Marquis de Bedmar to fight: And when the Elector of Bavaria was arrived at Bruſſels, and declared his reſolution to attack the army of the States, Marſhal Villeroy oppoſed it, and ſhewed him a poſitive order of his maſter, whereby he was forbid to venture upon an engagement.

In the Netherlands.

The total overthrow of the French forces in Germany, the retaking of Landau, and the ſecuring of Triers, and other poſts on the Moſelle and the Saar, (as related in the preceding pages) made the French very uneaſy, and deſirous of peace. They began to repent the violation of the famous treaty of partition, which might have ſaved millions of men; and, in order to feel the pulſe of the Allies, they propoſed a ſecond partition of the Spaniſh monarchy. This new project

The French deſire peace.

1704 ject was firſt printed in the Netherlands, in a kind of journal, and afterwards reprinted in other places by itſelf. The whole ſubſtance thereof run upon this: "That Philip ſhould continue King of Spain and the Indies, and King Charles be put in poſſeſſion of Naples, Sicily and Milan; and that the Spaniſh Netherlands be yielded by the reſpective parties for ever to the Elector of Bavaria." This expedient, they gave out, would cure all the jealouſies and oppreſſions Europe groaned under, and ſecure a laſting peace. But the Engliſh and Dutch were not yet in a temper to lay down their arms, and declared they would never do it whilſt the houſe of Bourbon was in poſſeſſion of the throne of Spain, and conſequently whilſt it was in the power of the French to exclude them from the beneficial trades of the Weſt-Indies and Turky.

1705 Theſe propoſitions not being attended to, the Duke of Marlborough, having received all the honours due to his extraordinary merit, been publicly treated in the city of London, ſeen the trophies of his victories hung up in Weſtminſter-hall, and, what was more than all, had the memory of his exploits perpetuated by a royal grant and an act of Parliament; his Grace prepared again to take the field. The forces of the States, under M. d' Auverquerque, began to canton the latter end of March, and every thing was ready to enter upon acting, immediately after the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough. The forces of England and Holland, which were to take the field, conſiſted of 120 Battalions, and 163 Squadrons, beſides ſome Palatines, and 4000 Wirtembergers in the pay of their High Mightineſſes, who were to ſerve on the upper Rhine, under Prince Lewis of Baden.

Preparations for another Campaign.

D. of Marlborough takes the field.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague the 2d of April, and was every day all that month in conference with the deputies of the States, and the foreign miniſters. His Grace having concerted with

with their High Mightineſſes the operations of the campaign, and ſent Brigadier Cadogan to confer with Prince Lewis of Baden on the ſame ſubject, ſet out for Maeſtricht, where M. d' Auverquerque was arrived two or three days before, and had begun to aſſemble the army which was to act under his command. The projects of this campaign, like thoſe of the laſt, were impenetrable to the French. They were every where on their guard, and ſeemed equally concerned for the lines in Brabant and on the Moſelle. Marſhal Villeroy commanded this year in the Netherlands; but the Elector of Bavaria ordered his equipage to be got ready, that he might put himſelf at the head of the army, in caſe the Duke of Marlborough made any attempt againſt the Spaniſh provinces. 1705

Death of the Emperor Leopold.

It gave no ſmall alarm to the Allies, when news came that the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna the 5th of May. That Prince was born the 9th of June, 1640, was crowned King of Hungary June the 27th, 1655, and of Bohemia the 14th of September, 1656; and the 18th of July, 1658, he was elected Emperor. He was ſucceeded by Joſeph King of the Romans, born July the 26th, 1678, crowned King of Hungary, December the 9th, 1687, and elected King of the Romans, January the 24th, 1690. The declaration and vigorous proceedings of this new Emperor ſoon made the Confederates eaſy, who found that the alliance had loſt nothing by this change in the head of the Empire.

One part of Brigadier Cadogan's commiſſion was to agree upon an interview between the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Lewis of Baden: but his Highneſs being unable, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, to come ſo far as Creutznatch, according to appointment, his Grace went to confer with him at Raſtadt, where the operations of the next campaign were fully concerted. It was reſolved to leave a ſufficient number of troops for the

1705 the ſecurity of the lines of Lauterberg and Stolhoffen, under the command of General Thungen; and that Prince Lewis ſhould march with a great detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the Duke. His Grace arrived at Triers the 27th of May, and having aſſembled all the troops in the neighbourhood of that place, the Engliſh forces paſſed the Moſelle at Igel the 3d of June. The Dutch, Heſſians, Danes, and Lunenburghers paſſed the Saar at the ſame time, and ſo all the forces joined.

The forces join, and the Duke offers battle to M. de Villars, which he refuſes.

His Grace advanced by the defile of Tavern, and, after a very long march, the right came within a mile of Syrk. The next day he made a motion, and took the camp of Elft, the right at Perle on the Moſelle, and the left at Hollendorf. The deſign of his Grace was, if poſſible, to bring Marſhal Villars to an engagement. But that General quitted his camp of Syrk, in great precipitation, tho' with a much ſuperior army, upon the approach of the Allies, and retired towards Coningſmacheren, taking a camp wherein it was impoſſible to attack him with ſucceſs. Hence it was concluded, that he had poſitive orders not to fight, which he might have done with great advantage, in the difficult country the Allies were neceſſitated to paſs. But the Duke of Marlborough was obliged to offer battle in this manner, if ever he expected the French to accept it; which finding they would not at this time, the ſiege of Saar Louis was reſolved on, to be commanded by the Prince of Baden, and covered by the Duke of Marlborough.

His deſign on Saar Louis fruſtrated by the backwardneſs of the Germans.

The taking of that place was of ſo great importance, that the ſucceſs of the whole campaign in a great meaſure depended on it. Yet neither the Prince of Baden, nor the appointed detachment, came to carry on the enterprize.

Mean time forage was ſo ſcarce, that the Engliſh and Dutch army could not long ſubſiſt between the

the Moſelle and the Saar. The Duke ſent frequent expreſſes to quicken the march of the Imperialiſts, and exhort the Princes, who had promiſed to furniſh artillery, horſes, and waggons, to ſend them with all expedition. His exhortations, and thoſe of the States, were to no purpoſe: for tho' ſome Imperial troops were detached from Lauterberg for the Moſelle, they would march only their own way, that is, ſo ſlowly, that inſtead of being on the Saar the 9th or 10th of June, they were not arrived the 20th, and there were neither horſes nor artillery provided. Prince Lewis of Baden, who had promiſed to accompany them in perſon, came indeed as far as Creutznach, and then falling ſick, took an opportunity to go to the bath of Sualbach, leaving thoſe forces under the command of the Count de Friſe. The Duke of Wirtemberg made a little more haſte with his 4000 men in the pay of the States, and the Pruſſians arrived a day before the grand army was neceſſitated to decamp. 1705

The French, during this interval, had taken Huy and inveſted Liege: whereupon the deputies of the States repreſented to the Duke of Marlborough, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt any longer in his camp; that the Germans having, by their delays, rendered the ſiege of Saar Louis impoſſible, and defeated all the projects on the Moſelle, it was to no purpoſe to continue any longer in theſe parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands, for ſtopping the progreſs of their enemies. The Duke was as ſenſible of that melancholy truth, as the deputies of the States were; but being willing to tarry to the laſt extremity, he did not decamp till he ſaw all his hopes vaniſhed away. He left Elſe, his head quarters, the 17th, to return towards Triers; which he did without being diſturbed by the French, who ſaw the Confederate army retire with the ſame tran-

His Grace is obliged to decamp.

1705

quility they had expreſſed when it advanced that way.

The army ſeparate.

The Duke of Marlborough, being arrived at Triers, held a great council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that the forces under his command ſhould march back to the Maeſe, except 7000 Palatines in the pay of England and Holland, who were left for the ſecurity of Triers, and other poſts on that ſide, under the command of Lieutenant-General Aubach. They were to be joined by part of the troops of Weſtphalia; and the 12,000 Pruſſians and 4000 Wirtembergers were ordered to Lauterberg, to reinforce Prince Lewis of Baden. According to this reſolution, his Grace marched for the Netherlands by the ſhorteſt way, and the Germans for the Upper Rhine.

Triers demoliſhed and abandoned.

Marſhal Villars, hearing what was done, made a detachment to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria, and another for the army of Marſhal Marſin in Alſatia, and advanced with the reſt of his grand army towards the Saar. On the firſt notice of it, the brave Palatine General ſent orders to the governor of Saarbruck, to quit that caſtle, and blow up the fortifications, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould appear; which was exactly performed. This was but the preliminary of another exploit projected by M. d' Aubach; for as ſoon as this was done, and before any enemy appeared in ſight, he deſtroyed all the magazines the Allies had made in Triers, blew up the fortifications, burnt the boats deſigned to make bridges, and quitted that important poſt, which had coſt ſo much money to England and Holland.

Succeſſes of the French on the Rhine.

The French, ſeeing the Allies had abandoned Triers, which they did not hope ſo eaſily to regain, took poſſeſſion of it in this diſmantled condition, and Marſhal Villars marched to join M. de Marſin; in conjunction with whom, he beat the Imperialiſts from the lines of Croon-Weiſſenburg. General Thungen, at the ſame time, had much

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ado to maintain himſelf in the lines of Lauterberg. The ſame fatal influence, which diſappointed the deſigns of the Allies on the Saar, ſtill kept the German troops diſperſed, as if on purpoſe to give an opportunity to the French to beat General Thungen over the Rhine, and retack Landau. This miſmanagement of affairs on that ſide, occaſioned a repreſentation from the Duke of Marlborough to the new Emperor, which he ſent by Colonel Durel, to give him a true account of the poſture of things, in order to prevent the like misfortunes for the future. 1705

The Duke writes to the Emperor concerning affairs on the Rhine.

The Duke, as he marched from Triers, was informed by an expreſs from M. d' Auverquerque, that the French had not yet begun the ſiege of the citadel of Liege. His Grace thereupon detached all the grenadiers of the army, and 100 men out of each battalion, under the command of the Earl of Orkney, with orders to march with all poſſible ſpeed to Duren, where he would join them with the cavalry, in order to advance and relieve that citadel, or fight the enemy. This expedition had a very good effect: for the French, being informed of it, ſent back their artillery to Namur, and on the 27th of June, in the morning, their troops quitted the city of Liege, of which they had taken poſſeſſion ſome days before. Their army marched to Tongeren, and from thence into their lines, upon the approach of the Duke of Marlborough, and M. d' Auverquerque, who advanced to attack them the 2d of July.

His Grace raiſes the ſiege of Liege.

The generals then thought fit to retake Huy, which was beſieged the 9th; and the ſame day fort Picard and the Red Fort were taken by ſtorm: whereupon the garriſon of the old caſtle, conſiſting of 600 men, commanded by Brigadier de St. Pierre, ſurrendered priſoners of war, and had the ſame uſage allowed them, which the French granted juſt a month before to M. Cronſtroom;

And retakes Huy.

1705

ſtroom, the Dutch governor. That officer had defended the place with a great deal of bravery for 11 days, and the French would have perhaps done the like, if the breaches had been ſufficiently repaired.

The Duke of Marlborough, after having retaken Huy, continued for ſome days at his camp about Hannuye, and ſent General Hompeſch to make certain propoſals to the States, in relation to the attack of the French lines, which were drawn ſo as to cover the whole Spaniſh Netherlands. Their High-Mightineſſes, having an entire confidence in the conduct of his Grace, left it wholly to him, to do whatever he ſhould think fit for the good of the common cauſe. General Hompeſch being thereupon returned, the Duke held a council of war, wherein the General officers of his army, and thoſe of that commanded by M. d' Auverquerque, (which was this year commanded ſeparately, to prevent any diſputes between officers of the ſame degree) were preſent. The forcing of the lines was the ſubject-matter of debate; but nothing being reſolved upon the firſt time, a ſecond council was called. Some generals in the ſervice of the States oppoſed the propoſal, and gave ſeveral ſtrong arguments againſt it; but M. d' Auverquerque, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, Count Noyelles, and other chief commanders, declared it as their opinion, that the attacking of the ſaid lines was neither dangerous, nor the ſucceſs of it improbable, if the judicious meaſures propoſed by the Duke of Marlborough were put in execution; and a reſolution was taken accordingly.

Reſolves to attack the French lines.

The enemy being poſted along their lines with 100 battalions, and 146 ſquadrons, which made the two armies pretty equal, (the Allies being 95 battalions, and 159 ſquadrons) it was reſolved to make a feint to divide their forces. Accordingly, M. d' Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont

Divides the enemies army by a feint.

mont the 17th of July, at 3 o'clock in the morning, and marched towards Burdine on the other ſide of the Mehaigne; and the Duke of Marlborough made a motion at the ſame time, as if he intended to ſupport M. d' Auverquerque in the attack of the lines about Meffelen, where they were not ſo ſtrong as in other parts. This feint ſucceeded even beyond expectation; for the French marched that way: but the ſame night, after the ſignal was given to the ſoldiers to repair to their tents, the army under his Grace was ordered to march; as did alſo that under M. d' Auverquerque, which repaſſed the Mehaigne. They both advanced, with all poſſible expedition, to ſupport the detachment which was ordered for the attack about Hilleſheim. The deſign was ſo ſecret, and ſo ſudden in the execution, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and this being the ſtrongeſt part of their lines, was leſs ſuſpected than any other. 1705

Paſſes their lines.

As the enemy had drawn off moſt of their troops, to reinforce the poſts on the other ſide the Mehaigne, the Confederate army paſſed without any oppoſition: but ſoon after 24 ſquadrons of Bavarian horſe, and 20 battalions, advanced to repulſe the foremoſt troops. This occaſioned a ſharp diſpute; in which the horſe and dragoons of the right wing defeated the enemy, who fled with great precipitation, leaving their ſtandards, colours, and cannon, behind them. All the troops behaved themſelves to admiration; and, amongſt the horſe, the regiment of Brigadier Cadogan diſtinguiſhed themſelves, having had the honour to charge firſt. They defeated 4 ſquadrons of Bavarian guards, drove them through 2 battalions of their own foot, and took 4 ſtandards. They loſt Lieutenant Auſtin, and ſeveral men and horſes. The Allies took the Marquis d' Allegre and the Count de Horn, Lieutenant-generals, 3 Bavarian colonels, and 74 other officers, with 18 pieces of cannon.

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The army marched the ſame day, before noon, to Tirlemont, the French decamping in their ſight, and paſſing the Geete, breaking down their bridges with ſo much precipitation, that they left behind them 14 or 1500 men, who were taken priſoners; as was alſo the battalion of Monluc in Tirlemont. The Allies could not follow the flying enemy, ſo as to fall upon them, by reaſon of a defile. On the 19th his Grace came to Ulierbeck, and the French ſeemed reſolved to defend Louvain. The regiments of La Marc and Alſace were almoſt all cut in pieces near Hilleſheim, where the attack was begun by Count de Noyelles. The foot under him were commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Ingoldſby and Schulten, and the horſe by the Lieutenant-Generals Lumley and Hompeſch.

Priſoners taken.

" Count de Noyelles, (ſays the Duke in his letter to the States) who commanded the detachment of 38 ſquadrons and 20 battalions, which I cauſed to advance to ſurpriſe the poſts of Neerheſpen and Hilleſheim, ſucceeded perfectly well, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf extremely; as did alſo the Prince of Heſſe, and all the other generals that were in the action; and the troops acquitted themſelves with a bravery ſurpaſſing all that could be hoped."

Diſſentions among the enemies generals.

This action occaſioned a great diviſion among the generals of the enemy: for the Bavarians were accuſed by the French to have miſbehaved themſelves; and the Elector, on the other hand, complained loudly of the French. That Prince expreſſed himſelf thus to the Baron of Malknecht, his favourite, in a letter from Park near Louvain. " Dear Baron, God forgive thoſe who ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed. The whole army is here, and the evil is not ſo great as to be paſt remedy. The country of Brabant may be ſaved, as well as Antwerp, if it pleaſe God. I am well, but exceedingly fatigued."--A quite

contrary

contrary behaviour appeared among the generals of the Allies, as may be ſeen in M. d'Auverquerque's letter to their High Mightineſſes, in the poſtſcript of which he ſays: "I muſt do this juſtice to the Duke of Marlborough, to give him "all the honour of this enterpriſe, which he "hath carried on, and ſupported with a great "deal of conduct and valour." 1705

The States General, having received the ſeveral accounts of this action from the Duke, General Auverquerque, and their own deputies, returned a letter of thanks to his Grace; which ſhewed their grateful ſenſe of his great ſervices. They call his paſſing the lines A Happy ſucceſs, for which they had made many vows! "Our gene- *The States letter to the Duke of Marlborough*
"rals, ſay they, allow, that this victory, under "God, is entirely due to your Excellency's care, "prudence and valour; having ſurmounted and "conquered thoſe difficulties, and obſtacles, "which, for above two years, have appeared "unſurmountable and invincible. This gives new "luſtre to your laurels, at the ſame time that it "adds to their number."

The Duke was in great danger of his life, having very much expoſed himſelf in the action. As he was leading on ſeveral ſquadrons, a French or Bavarian officer quitted his poſt, and advanced, ſword in hand, to ſtrike at his Grace: but, as he was raiſing himſelf in his ſtirrup to reach him, he flung himſelf off his horſe, and was killed. *His Grace in danger.*

Colonel Richards, who had the direction of making the bridges, and behaved himſelf exceeding well, was ſent by the Duke to give the Emperor an account of this glorious advantage, and arrived at Vienna with that welcome news the 26th of July, juſt when they were celebrating at court the anniverſary of the birth-day of his Imperial Majeſty, who then entered the 28th Year of his age. The Monarch took that opportunity

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tunity to declare publickly his great eſteem for his Grace, and ſaid, "That his ſervice to the common cauſe in general, and in particular to his family, were ſuch, that they ſhould never be forgotten by him, nor his poſterity."

Grateful teſtimony of the Emperor Joſeph to the Duke's merit.

The French army retired behind the Dyle, in an advantageous poſt, having that river in front, and the city of Louvain, where they lodged ſeveral battalions; and it being thought not adviſable to venture to paſs that river in their ſight, it was agreed to attempt it another way. Accordingly the Duke being informed, that ſeveral poſts on the Dyle, between Louvain and the village of Neder-Iſche, were ſlenderly guarded, his Grace reſolved, with the advice of the generals, to endeavour to force them, in order to the paſſing of that river. In purſuance of this reſolution, a detachment of 18 battalions commanded by Count Oxenſtiern, and 20 ſquadrons under the Duke of Wirtemberg, were ordered to advance, the 29th of July, about 5 in the afternoon, with ſome artillery and the pontons. At 11 at night, the army decamped from the left, and followed this detachment, which arrived at the poſts deſigned about 3 the next morning; and the workmen immediately made bridges at Neder-Iſche on the left, and near Corbeck on the right. Two Dutch battalions, with 500 grenadiers, and as many fuſiliers, paſſed over at the former place, with General Hukehim at their head, and 500 grenadiers at the latter, who obliged the guards that attempted to oppoſe them to retire. His Grace and M. d'Auverquerque, with their main armies, advanced to ſupport the detachments: but that on the right met with great difficulties, having a very large body of foot to attack. It appeared, that the enemy, having got notice of the Confederates motion, began to march likewiſe at midnight; and their van appeared at the ſame time

The paſſage of the Dyle attempted, and fruſtrated.

that

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that the Duke's army came to the river, having all the advantage of the ground, and batteries planted juſt againſt the bridges. Hereupon his Grace ſignified to M. d'Auverquerque, that, in his opinion, the enterpriſe ought not to be puſhed on; and the Dutch general being of the ſame ſentiment, it was thought fit to order their men to retire; which they did in very good order, bringing away their bridges, and having had only 2 or 3 officers wounded, and about 50 private men killed and wounded. The cannon of the Allies, which fired in the mean time from 2 batteries without intermiſſion, did great execution among the enemies troops. The army afterwards marched, and encamped with the right at Meldert, and the left at Borſu.

General Spaar makes a diverſion in Flanders.

While this was doing in Brabant, General Spaar, who commanded the Dutch forces in Flanders, having been reinforced by ſeveral battalions, attacked the lines of the enemy on that ſide, paſſed the canal between Ghent and Bruges, took 4 ſmall forts on that canal, and drove the enemy before him to Moerbrugge, where they made a ſtand with 4 battalions, and ſeemed reſolved to defend that poſt. They quitted it, however, upon General Spaar's approach, who made daily ſome further motions towards Bruges, that he might not be intercepted by a body of troops which Meſſieurs de la Motte, Vibraye, and Gaſſe, had aſſembled in the country of Waes, in the neighbourhood of Ghent, conſiſting of 21 battalions, 2 regiments of horſe, and 1 of dragoons. But being informed, by a letter from Mr. Secretary Slingeland, that a treaty for the general contributions of Flanders was concluded, he did not think fit to venture any further into the enemy's country, and retired from Bernen to Meldegern. Here he continued for ſome time, to refreſh the troops under his command, who were very much fatigued, having marched for ſeveral days and nights together. He took care,

1705 care, in this excurſion, to raiſe contributions, and ſecure hoſtages, wherever he paſſed. He alſo ſent ſeveral parties towards Roſſelaer and Menin, who did all the miſchief they could, and brought away ſeveral hoſtages. The chief deſign of this General was to give a diverſion to the enemy, that might prove advantageous to the grand army in Brabant. This diverſion was indeed very conſiderable, but there was reaſon to wiſh it had been better improved. The Confederate army being made up of ſeveral nations, it was not ſurpriſing that jealouſy ſhould produce ſome ill effects; and we ſhall ſee more of that nature in what follows.

It proving impoſſible to attack the French as the Duke of Marlborough had projected, his Grace ſent Lieutenant-General Hompeſch to propoſe a new deſign to the States General; which being approved, the army was provided with bread for ſeveral days. For the ſucceſs of that march, as it was a very delicate affair, we refer the reader to the Letters of his Grace, M. de Auverquerque, the Deputies of the States, and Lieutenant-General Saliſh.

The Duke's letter to the States, upon being oppoſed by the Field Deputies.

The Duke informs them, that the army marched the preceding Saturday; encamped that day at Corbais and St. Martin, and the next day at Genap. "Monday, ſays he, we came to Fichermont, and "yeſterday, before break of day, we were in "motion, and, after having paſſed ſeveral de- "files, came into a large plain, finding the enemy "encamped, as we expected, between Over-Iſhe "and Nether-Iſhe, with the little rivulet Iſhe be- "fore them. About noon the army was drawn "up in battalia; and having, with M. d Auver- "querque, viewed the four poſts I deſigned to "attack, I already flattered myſelf (conſidering "the goodneſs and ſuperiority of our troops) to "have a ſudden opportunity of congratulating "your High Mightineſſes upon a glorious vic- "tory;

" tory; but when there was nothing remaining 1705
" but to attack, it was not thought fit to do it.
" I am confident, that the deputies of your High
" Mightineſſes will acquaint you with the reaſons
" alledged to them on either ſide, and that they
" will do that juſtice to M. d'Auverquerque, to
" acquaint you, that he was of the ſame opinion
" with me, that the opportunity we had was too
" fair to be let ſlip: but, however, I have ſub-
" mitted, tho' with a great deal of regret. I
" ſhall ſpeak this day to the deputies and M. d'
" Auverquerque, that they may give the neceſſary
" orders for the attack of Lewe, and to continue
" the demoliſhing of the lines." His Grace con-
cludes with theſe remarkable words: " My heart
" is ſo full, that I cannot forbear repreſenting, on
" this occaſion, to your High Mightineſſes, that
" I have much leſs authority here, than when I
" had the honour to command your troops laſt
" year in Germany."

Extract from M. d'Auverquerque's letter.

Field Marſhal d'Auverquerque, tho' the Duke declares he was of the ſame opinion with himſelf, did not think fit, it ſeems, openly to avow it, when the project was laid aſide. We had made, *ſays* " *he*, a detachment of 20 battalions and 20 ſqua-
" drons, to attack the right wing of the enemy
" in flank, thro' the wood of Soignies, at the
" ſame time we ſhould begin to attack them in
" front: but that detachment, commanded by
" General Churchill, was obliged to rejoin the
" army in the evening, having found it impoſ-
" ſible to march that way, becauſe of the trees
" the enemy had cut down to make the roads
" unpaſſable. Our generals went twice, the day
" we came, to view all the poſts from one end
" of the line to the other, whereby they might
" be attacked, and found them of ſo difficult
" acceſs, that they unanimouſly reported to me,
" as their ſentiment, that the enterprize was nei-
" ther adviſeable nor practicable; whereupon it
" was

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" was reſolved to retire, which we did, in ſo " good order, that the enemy did not think fit " to attack our rear."

From that of the Field Deputies.

But the Field Deputies, at the ſame time that they give their reaſons for diſapproving this enterpriſe, own that their Chief General thought otherwiſe than themſelves. " All the enemies " forces, *they tell the States*, were advantageouſly " poſted; and beſides, according to the report of " three generals, who had been to view them, " there was no ground fit for our horſe to march. " We did not think fit to attempt the paſſage, " without firſt hearing the opinion of the gene- " rals, all of whom we found, except M. d'Auver- " querque, unanimouſly agreed, that it was an " affair of the laſt conſequence to attack the e- " nemy in the ſaid poſt, and might be of great " danger to the State and common cauſe. The " reaſons they gave were, That the enemy could " not be attacked without abundance of danger " and diſadvantage on our ſide; and that in caſe " we ſhould receive any diſaſter, we ſhould find " ourſelves in very troubleſome circumſtances, " becauſe, being ſo far advanced into the ene- " my's country, we had neither towns nor hoſ- " pitals for our wounded, ſo that the enemies " might in ſuch caſe very eaſily cut off our con- " voys of proviſions. Beſides, the above-men- " tioned generals were of opinion, that the af- " fairs of the High Allies, and of our Republick, " were not yet in ſuch a condition, as to under- " take ſuch a deſperate enterprize. My Lord " Marlborough, as well as M. d'Auverquerque, " was indeed of opinion, that the thing was " practicable; but we could not think of giving " our conſent, in an affair of ſo great importance, " againſt the mind of all the other generals of the " army."

And from General Saliſh.

General Saliſh, in his letter to M. Fagel, is yet more particular as to the difficulty of this enterpriſe.

priſe. "The enemy, he writes, had poſted themſelves very advantageouſly behind the river Iſche, having the wood of Soignies on their right, and the Dyle, on the other ſide of Nether Iſche, on their left. They had fortified all the avenues, and were ſtill very hard at work at the village of Upper Iſche, and other eminences, erecting batteries, and making coupures: in a word, we found them poſted in that manner, that it was not poſſible to attack them without expoſing our whole army, which would have been obliged to climb a high hill full of hedges and ſhrubs, as alſo to paſs the ſaid river; for which reaſon the generals, having well viewed the ground every where, reſolved to repaſs the Lane, which we did accordingly." 1705 *And from General Saliſh.*

As this was the greateſt inſtance of miſunderſtanding that ever happened among the generals of the Allies, I have endeavoured to do juſtice to both parties, by inſerting what they had to urge. But then we are to conſider, as we go along, of how much greater weight the opinion of his Grace, as remarkable for his great caution and foreſight, as for any other quality of a general, and M. d'Auverquerque, who adjuſted his meaſures by the experience of above 50 campaigns, ought to be in a matter of this nature, than the opinion of three or four timerous Stateſmen, and half a ſcore junior officers. It is certain their High Mightineſſes thought in this way, becauſe they inſtantly removed thoſe perſons of whom his Grace complained. Thus the ill conſequences that ſome were afraid of, were happily prevented by the wiſdom of that ſenate, who were ſenſible that unity and concord were the only cement of the grand Alliance. The emiſſaries of France were big with hopes of theſe miſunderſtandings, and fomented them with all imaginable induſtry: but they ſaw themſelves diſappointed, and that the *Reflexions on this affair.*

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little evil which had happened was productive of good to the Allies, as it prevented the tying-up his Grace's hands any more in that manner.

Sout-Lewe taken.

The projects of the Duke of Marlborough being thus disappointed, the army marched towards Tirlemont, and a detachment was made under the command of Lieutenant-General Dedem to besiege Sout-Lewe, a little place situated on a morass, and the chief defence of the enemies lines. The place was invested the 29th of August, and the garrison surrendered the 5th of September prisoners of war, to the number of 400 men. They found in that place 18 pieces of cannon, 2 mortars, a good quantity of ammunition, with 1800 sacks of meal. The governor surrendered before the batteries began to fire, upon a declaration of the Dutch General, that if they deferred it any longer, they should be allowed no quarter. This place being of great importance for hindring the French from repairing their lines, the Allies provided it with a good garrison.

His Grace, after this success, ordered the lines of the enemy to be levelled from Waseiger to Sout-Lewe, and Tirlemont to be dismantled; and then, having passed the Demer, encamped at Arschot. The enemy quitted, upon his approach, their old lines between that river and the Nethe, and retired into the new ones between those rivers, wherein they could not be attacked. His Grace continued for some days at Arschot, to give time to begin and carry on the fortifications of Diest, Hasselt, Tongeren, and some other places, in which he designed to put strong garrisons the following winter. The army marched towards Herenthal and Turnhout, where M. Buis, pensionary of Amsterdam, waited on his Grace on the part of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, and had a long conference with him. His Grace set out a few days after for the Hague, and left the army under the command of M. d' Auverquerque.

The Duke goes to the Hague.

querque. The Generals made, in the mean time, preparations for the ſiege of San Vliet. 1705

After ſeveral conferences held with the penſionary, it was agreed his Grace ſhould ſet out for Vienna, to preſs the pacification of the troubles in Hungary, which was ſtill obſtructed by the ſame perſons, who by their exactions gave the firſt occaſion to the breach. The Earl of Sunderland was gone thither before, to join Mr. Stepney, as mediators on the part of her Britannick Majeſty, to heal this wound, which, by drawing off the Imperial troops to that ſide, proved ſo fatal to the grand alliance. Theſe miniſters having hitherto done little, and it being of the utmoſt importance, if poſſible, to expedite the affair, every one agreed, that if the influence of his Grace, equally revered as a Stateſman and a General, could not produce the deſired change of meaſures in the court of Vienna, it would be in vain to expect it, and ſtruggle with inſuperable difficulties. The Engliſh, knowing that all nations are to be governed by their own laws, and being ſenſible that ſomething contrary thereto had occaſioned, under the reign of the Emperor Leopold, the unhappy troubles in Hungary, generouſly interpoſed their mediation to appeaſe thoſe differences; which they would not have done, if they had thought that the Hungarians had taken up arms without cauſe, and rebelled againſt their ſovereign. *Caſe of the Hungarians.*

Beſides this reſolution taken at the Hague, the Emperor had earneſtly deſired that the Duke of Marlborough would repair to his court, as well to concert the operations of the next campaign, as to adjuſt theſe differences, and ſeveral other affairs of the higheſt importance. His Grace accordingly ſet out from the grand army in Brabant, (whither he was returned from the Hague) and being arrived at Frankfort, Prince Lewis of Baden met him there. The two Princes had ſe- *His Grace goes to Vienna.*

1705 veral conferences in the preſence of M. Geldermalſen, plenipotentiary of the States, who entertained their Highneſſes at dinner, with ſeveral other perſons of quality. The interview of theſe two great men was narrowly obſerved; but, notwithſtanding ſome inſinuations of the emiſſaries of France, as if the Britiſh General had ſuſpected the German of infidelity, nothing appeared between them but all imaginable tokens of friendſhip and good correſpondence.

While his Grace was upon this journey, a detachment was made from the grand army, under Count Noyelles, (according to a reſolution before taken) to beſiege Santvliet, a ſtrong fort near the Schelde. The trenches were opened in the night, between the 26th and 27th of October, and carried on the next day into the very counterſcarp, which the enemy abandoned. The ſame day the artillery began to fire againſt the place, in order to make a breach, and the 29th, at five o'clock in the evening, they beat a parley. Hoſtages being exchanged as uſual, they demanded to march out with the common marks of honour; but upon the Count's refuſing thoſe conditions, they ſurrendered, at 11 at night, priſoners of war. The baggage of the officers was conducted to Antwerp, and they were allowed to wear their ſwords. The ſick and wounded, who were not in a condition to be tranſported, were allowed to continue in the place till they were cured, and then to rejoin the priſoners. The garriſon conſiſted of the regiment of Mally, and 400 grenadiers, without including the men belonging to the artillery.

Santvliet taken.

Dieſt ſurpriſed.

This little loſs was in ſome ſort made up to the French, by a new acquiſition. While the Allies were employed in the ſiege of Santvliet, the enemy made a detachment to ſurprize Dieſt; and the place, not being in a poſture of defence, the garriſon ſurrendered the 26 of the ſame month, and had the ſame conditions as that of Santvliet. It

conſiſted

conſiſted of 4 battalions and a regiment of dragoons, and was commanded by Brigadier Gaudacker, who wrote a long letter to the States in his own vindication, complaining of the hardſhip of being put, after 34 years of ſervice, to hold a place that was not tenable, and that too without any artillery. He throws the blame of it on M. d' Auverquerque, and the field-deputies, to whom he had often ſet forth his condition. 1705

The Duke of Marlborough arrived at Vienna the 12th of November, by water from Ratiſbon, and was received at his landing by the Earl of Sunderland and M. Stepney, who conducted him to the houſe of the Prince of Longueval. His Grace had the next day his audience of their Imperial Majeſties and the Archdutcheſſes, and the two following days received and returned ſeveral viſits. The 16th, he had a conference with the Prince of Salms, and other publick miniſters, at which the Emperor was preſent; and the ſame evening was a long while in converſation with his Imperial Majeſty, and the Empreſs-conſort. His Grace was afterwards ſeized with a fit of the gout, which confined him three days to his chamber; and, during that time, was viſited by all perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in that city. The 19th, the Earl of Sunderland, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from her Majeſty of Great Britain, had his audience of leave of the Emperor and Empreſs, and the next day of the Empreſs-dowager and the Archdutcheſſes. His Lordſhip was preſented by his Imperial Majeſty with his picture ſet with diamonds. The 22d, the Duke of Marlborough went to ſee the famous chamber of rarities, where the Emperor was pleaſed to meet him, and in a very obliging manner preſented him with a ring of conſiderable value. The ſame evening his Grace had his audiences of leave of all the Imperial family, and the 23 began his journey back, accompanied by the Earl of Sunderland. *The Duke's reception at Vienna.*

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The Emperor makes him a grant of the principality of Mindelheim.

His Imperial Majeſty, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervices done by his Grace to the Auſtrian family, and to the Empire, was pleaſed to make him an actual grant of the territory of Mindelheim in Suabia, not far from Augſburg, lately poſſeſſed by Duke Maximilian, uncle to the then Elector of Bavaria; and a patent was ordered to paſs the ſeal for erecting this fief into a principality, agreeably to the title conferred on him the year before by the Emperor Leopold. In conſequence of this, his Grace was diſtinguiſhed for the future, throughout the Empire, by the ſtile and title of Prince of Mindelheim. His Grace, during his ſtay at Vienna, received the greateſt marks of honour and eſteem. The court would have defrayed his expences, and the Prince of Dietrichſtein's palace had been fitted up for his reception; but his Grace was pleaſed to decline it.

His Grace and Lord Sunderland go to Berlin.

Our Hero returned with ſo much honour, and the manner of his reception every where was ſo magnificent, that I cannot forbear continuing this journal. His Imperial Majeſty had ordered horſes to be ready at every ſtage at his own charges, and ſeveral officers of his court were ſent before, to get all things in a readineſs, that nothing might retard the journey of my Lord Duke and the Earl of Sunderland. They took the rout of Berlin, with three coaches and two waggons; and, as they found ſix freſh horſes for each at every ſtage, they travelled with an extraordinary ſpeed, notwithſtanding the ſeaſon of the year. The firſt day they came to Sclowitz, a caſtle belonging to Count Zinzendorf, who came thus far with them from Vienna, and treated his Grace and his Lordſhip with great magnificence. The 24th they dined at Wiſhaw, a place belonging to the Biſhop of Olmutz and Oſnabrug, brother to the Duke of Lorrain; and the officers of his Highneſs had prepared a noble dinner in the palace. After this,

they

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they continued their journey to Olmutz, and lay that night in a noble palace of the ſaid Prince, which is very richly furniſhed. The envoy of his Highneſs was come poſt from Vienna, to receive his Grace and his Lordſhip to a ſplendid entertainment at ſupper; during which, the room was crowded with people of the beſt quality, and others, every body preſſing in to ſee the *Preſerver and Deliverer of the Empire*, as they ſtiled his Grace. The 25th they lay at New Staddle, lodging in a houſe belonging to Colonel Schmettau, whoſe ſervants had prepared a handſome ſupper, by order of their maſter. In all the towns and cities their Lordſhips went through, the burghers and garriſons were drawn up in arms, and beat their drums as his Grace went by, at the Emperor's ſpecial order.

The Duke ſaluted Deliverer of the Empire.

The 26th they lay at Breſlau, the capital of Sileſia, and one of the nobleſt towns in Germany. Their Lordſhips were lodged at Colonel Schmettau's own houſe, who was come on purpoſe from Vienna to receive them, and gave them a magnificent entertainment. The magiſtrates came in their formalities to compliment his Grace, and made him the uſual preſents of the place; as they did likewiſe to Lord Sunderland. The 28th they lay at a ſmall town called Granberg, which is the laſt place in the Imperial territories. The officers of the Emperor were ordered to take their leave here; but his Grace deſired them to go to Croſſen, the next ſtage, from whence they were diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. The 29th his Grace arrived in the dominions of the King of Pruſſia, and met there with horſes appointed by order of his Majeſty, and a commiſſary to wait upon him as far as Berlin. They arrived that day at Frankfort on the Oder, where the magiſtrates complimented his Grace, and made him the uſual preſent of wine. The 30th they arrived at Berlin, having been met by 12 of the King's own horſes, for

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for the coaches of my Lord Duke and the Earl of Sunderland. Theſe horſes were changed twice the ſame day. His Grace came to Berlin in very good health, notwithſtanding the fatigue of a journey of 532 miles in 8 days, in a very hard ſeaſon.

His reception at the court of Pruſſia.

My Lord Duke went the ſame night to court, and had a conference with the King of Pruſſia. The next day he preſented the Earl of Sunderland to his Majeſty, the Prince royal, and the King's two brothers, who all received his Lordſhip with all imaginable marks of eſteem. They ſaw the King at dinner, with the royal family, and after a ſhort ſtay there, their Lordſhips went to dine with Lord Raby, embaſſador from her Majeſty of Great Britain. The ſame day his Grace ſupped with his Majeſty, the Prince Royal, and the Margraves, and dined with them the next day at the great chamberlain's. He had the next day a long conference with his Majeſty, and renewed for one year longer, the treaty for 8000 men to be employed in Italy, which his Majeſty promiſed to recruit, and to ſend 3 battalions in the room of the horſe he had recalled.

Having ſettled that affair, and adjuſted ſome other difficulties, his Grace ſet out from Berlin the 3d of December in the evening, very well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his negotiations, and the honours that had been paid him at the court of Berlin, where he was complimented by the imperial reſident with the title of Prince of Mindelheim, by order of his maſter. His Grace and the Earl of Sunderland were attended to the frontiers of the territories of the King of Pruſſia, on this ſide, with the ſame ceremonies that had been obſerved before, and received in like manner in thoſe of the Elector of Hanover. They arrived there the 6th, and his Grace lodged at the houſe of General Bulau, which had been prepared for his reception. Lord Sunderland was received at another houſe, belonging to one of the chief officers

He comes to Hanover.

officers of the court. They waited the ſame even- 1705
ing on his electoral highneſs and the electreſs dowager, and were received with the marks of diſtinction due to their extraordinary merit and quality. I muſt not omit that the King of Pruſſia preſented my Lord Duke with a ſword enriched with diamonds; and Lord Sunderland with a diamond ring of great value. His Grace was preſented by his electoral highneſs with a fine calaſh and ſix horſes, and the Earl of Sunderland with a ſet of horſes. The 9th their Lordſhips ſet out very early from Hanover, and arrived the 14th at the Hague. His Grace found the troops gone into winter-quarters, the lines of thoſe in the Engliſh ſervice extending from the ſea to the neighbourhood of Mentz. He had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, and then, together with Lord Sunderland, ſet ſail for England, and arrived at St. James's the laſt day of the year according to the * Engliſh account. It was in vain that his enemies ſtrove to impair his credit by depreciating the actions of his laſt campaign, when the commons of England, in a committee, returned him thanks for his great ſervices performed to her Majeſty and the nation, and for his prudent negotiations with the Queen's Allies.

And to the Hague.

Arrives in England.

Thus ended the 4th year of a war, which, tho' it was the moſt difficult the Allies ever had to maintain, was the only remedy they had left in the imminent danger with which Europe was threatened. While having Spain for an Ally, they employed their joint force in the former wars, to prevent or repel the evil they feared, they found the weakneſs of their efforts prolonged the conteſt; and for want of exerting timely their full ſtrength, things were brought to that extremity, that had not Heaven ſent a great revolution in England,

Recapitulation of the laſt year.

* I have obſerved the new ſtile in ſpeaking of thoſe countries where it is uſed.

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England, it would have been impoſſible for them to ſave themſelves. But ſince, by means of a ſham-peace, France became maſter of the monarchy of Spain, they could hope for no ſafety but from redoubled efforts, favoured by the Divine protection.

The defeat of the French at Blenheim, the taking of Landau, Triers, Traerbach, and ſeveral other poſts on the Moſelle, and the ſuppreſſion of a rebellion in Bavaria, were ſuch real advantages, as gave juſt cauſe to hope, that the following campaign, in the year 1705, would be attended even with greater ſucceſſes; but the event did not prove anſwerable to expectation. The French, whoſe beſt troops were either killed or taken priſoners, and whoſe cavalry was almoſt all diſmounted, found means to repair their loſſes, and bring vaſt armies into the field, notwithſtanding thoſe difficulties, and their ſcarcity of money, which obliged them to ſtop the caſh, and give paper in lieu of the ſpecies. They neglected, indeed, nothing to retrieve their loſſes: But yet their diligence was not the only, nor the chief cauſe of the diſappointments of the Allies. Thoſe who have read the foregoing pages, will have no need to look towards the conſtellations in heaven, and the conjunction of the planets, to find it out. The affairs of the Confederacy, however, were far from going backwards, as the reader may ſee by adding the following particulars to the actions of the Duke of Marlborough.

State of the war in Italy.

Verrua, after a brave defence of 6 months together, was ſurrendered for want of proviſions, and the French paid for a rock, and the ruins of ſome fortifications, above 20 Millions of Livres; and ſacrificed the lives of more than 12,000 men. The long reſiſtance of that place broke all their meaſures, and the Duke of Vendome was not able to beſiege Turin, as he intended, before the arrival of Prince Eugene obliged him to march to the defence

defence of the Milaneſe. They were ſtill more unfortunate before Gibraltar, and the Marſhal de Teſſe, who commanded the French and Spaniſh forces, before that place, had the mortification to raiſe the ſiege, after having ſeen the flower of his army periſh in that long enterpriſe. Three men of war of Monſieur Ponti's ſquadron were taken, and that Admiral forced to run his own ſhip a-ground with another, and ſet them on fire themſelves; without mentioning the loſs of four frigates, which they had been forced to burn themſelves, upon Sir John Leake's coming into the bay of Gibraltar, towards the latter end of the year. 1705

Prince Eugene's Campaign.

Eight thouſand Pruſſians having marched into Italy, according to the treaty concluded with the court of Berlin by the Duke of Marlborough, and 4000 Palatines being ordered the ſame way, Prince Eugene ſet out for the Imperial army in the Veroneſe, and attempted to paſs the Mincio. This proving impracticable in ſight of the French army, his Highneſs was obliged to ſend his infantry over the lake de la Guarda to Salo, and the cavalry marched about the ſaid lake to Gavardo. The grand Prior of France obſerved narrowly the motions of the Germans; but Prince Eugene proved too vigilant for him, and gained a day's march, whereby he advanced to the banks of the Oglio, paſſed that river, took Soncino, Palazzuolo, Ponte Oglio, and ſeveral other poſts; which obliged the Duke of Vendome to leave the French army in Piedmont, under the command of the Duke of La Feuillade, and march in perſon to defend the paſſage of the Adda. Prince Eugene made ſeveral feints to draw the enemy to an engagement, and at laſt attacked them near Caſſano, where, notwithſtanding they had the advantage of the ground, he obtained a conſiderable advantage. This obliged the Duke of Vendome to recall ſome forces from Piedmont, whereby the army under M. de la Feuillade,

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illade, which had taken Chivazzo, was too much weakened to undertake the ſiege of Turin, before which place they were encamped near a month, and had made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions. They flattered themſelves to fright the Duke of Savoy into a ſeparate treaty: But that prince being proof againſt all their tempting promiſes, and haughty menaces, the Duke of La Feuillade was obliged to retire towards Caſal; from whence he marched to retake Aſti, which the French had abandoned by miſtake, and from whence he was forced to retire with great loſs. Prince Eugene ſeeing the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that the enemy could make no further attempt againſt Turin, repaſſed the Oglio, and returned towards Gavardo, whereupon the Duke of Vendome marched to Caſtiglione della Stivere to ſecure the Mantuan. Thus far the affairs of Italy had a tolerable aſpect for the Allies.

Loſſes of the Duke of Savoy.

On the other hand, as the French were reſolved to ſpare nothing for reducing the Duke of Savoy, they took Villa Franca in the beginning of the Spring, and obliged the town of Nizza to ſurrender: But they did not think fit to attack the citadel, and having blown up the fortifications of the town, withdrew their troops from thence. However, the taking of that place being abſolutely neceſſary for reducing the Duke of Savoy, and to hinder him from receiving any ſuccour by ſea, the Duke of Berwich marched thro' Languedoc to beſiege it, at the very ſame time that Barcelona ſurrendered to the Allies. In fine, the governor of Nizza was obliged to ſurrender the 4th of January. And the fortreſs of Monmellian, which had been blocked up for two years together, ſurrendered the 11th of December.

Affairs in Portugal.

The forces of the Allies in Portugal were not ſo ſucceſsful as had been expected. However they took Salvaterra and Marvan, and wreſted from the enemy Valencia d'Alcantara and Albuquerque: and

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And had not the Earl of Gallway had the misfortune to have his right hand ſhot off by a cannon-ball before Badajox, that place too, in all likelihood, would have been taken. If their ſucceſs on that ſide fell ſhort of the expectation of the Allies, the taking of Barcelona, and the reducing of the whole principality of Catalonia under the obedience of King Charles, exceeded their hopes. We will but juſt mention the perpetual endeavours of the Queen and the States, to pacify the troubles in Hungary, having hinted at thoſe things before. The death of the Emperor Leopold ſeemed to render an accommodation more practicable; but, after all the efforts of the Maritime Powers, nothing more was done than to ſign a ceſſation of arms, and leave the points in debate to future conferences.

In Spain.

Upon the Rhine.

The Imperial and French armies on the Upper Rhine having been in ſight ſeveral times, and drawn up in battalia, it was expected there would have happened an action. But the Marſhal de Villars having had advice of the approach of 10 battalions, and 20 ſquadrons, of the troops of the King of Pruſſia, to reinforce the army of Prince Lewis of Baden, that General thought fit, the 13th of September in the night, to decamp in great ſecrecy, and retire towards Straſburgh. Prince Lewis of Baden, being reinforced by theſe troops, likewiſe decamped the next day from Daudorp, and came to Wierſchiem. The ſame day 9 ſquadrons and 9 battalions, with a detachment of grenadiers, under the command of the Count de Friſe, were ordered to beſiege Druſenheim. The trenches were opened the 19th, and that place was attacked with ſo much vigour, that the garriſon, conſiſting of 3 or 400 men, ſurrendered the 24th priſoners of war. There was found in the place 400 ſacks of meal, 4 ſmall pieces of cannon, 400 muſkets, and 12 barrels of gunpowder. The 28th Haguenau was inveſted by a ſtrong detachment,

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tachment, commanded by General Thungen, having under him the Generals Erffa and Arnhein. The infantry of the King of Pruſſia, the King of Poland, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, were employed in that ſiege, with 20 ſquadrons. The garriſon made but a ſhort reſiſtance; for they beat a parley the 5th of October, and offered to ſurrender the place upon terms: but none being allowed them but to be priſoners of war, they reſolved to quit the town in the night, and retire to Savern. Haguenau not being inveſted on that ſide, they had an opportunity to do it: but the prudence and care of the Germans were not much to be commended. They little expected the garriſon would take that reſolution, and the diſſatisfaction Prince Lewis of Baden expreſſed on that ſubject, was very juſtifiable. This was the ſituation of the war at the end of the year 1705.

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The Duke of Marlborough confers with the deputies of the States.

The forces of the States were ordered to canton by the middle of April, and towards the latter end they begun to form a camp near Tongeren, where they expected the junction of the Engliſh. The Duke of Marlborough, being arrived in Holland, was daily in conference with the deputies of the States, to concert the operations of the campaign, the projects of which were kept with an unuſual ſecrecy. The affairs of Italy were the chief matter of theſe conferences, and England and Holland reſolved to do their utmoſt to aſſiſt the Duke of Savoy. The Duke of Marlborough, more concerned for the common cauſe than for his own reputation, propoſed to go in perſon to the ſupport of that Prince, or to ſtand on the defenſive part in the Netherlands, in order to ſend a greater body of forces into Italy. But the States, fearing they ſhould be expoſed by his abſence, prevailed with him to ſtay in Flanders, and continue the main ſtreſs of the war on that ſide.

The

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The army of the States began to encamp near Tongeren the beginning of May, and the Duke of Marlborough and M. d' Auverquerque ſet out the 9th from the Hague for Maeſtricht, where they arrived the 12th. The Dutch General went the ſame day to the camp, and the next his Grace arrived there to review the troops. Mean time the Engliſh troops were ordered to march from their quarters to join the army. They arrived at Bilſen the 20th, and on the 21ſt joined the Dutch between Borkloen and Gros Warem. The 22d the Danes in the ſervice of England and Holland alſo joined the army; and the French, confiding in their ſuperiority, came out of their lines about the ſame time, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. This occaſioned that memorable action on the 23d, ſince called the battle of Ramillies. The following account of it, given by Colonel Richards, Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Marlborough, with what we ſhall add to it from other relations, may give a full idea of this glorious victory.

The forces join.

Col. Richard's relation of the battle of Ramillies.

" On Saturday the 22d inſtant, the Confederate Army decamped from Borkloen, and marched to Gros Warem. The Daniſh troops came up with our rear, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from us. Here we had advice, that the enemy, being joined by the horſe of Marſhal Marſin's army, and depending on the ſuperiority of their numbers, were lately come out of their lines, and had made a motion, putting their right towards Judoigne.

My Lord Duke, and M. d'Auverquerque, relying upon the goodneſs of their troops, reſolved to advance towards the enemy; and accordingly on Sunday the 23d, about three in the morning, the army marched in 8 columns towards Ramillies, a village where the Gheete takes its ſource, that we might avoid the inconveniency of paſſing

1706. that river. Being advanced near the ſaid village, we found the enemy getting into the camp of Mount St. Andre, and placing their right to the Mehaigne. This river flows about half a league from Ramillies, the ground between them being open and level: the Gheete runs from Ramillies to Autregliſe, through a marſhy ground; and beyond Autregliſe the river grows wide, and the ground is unpaſſable.

Situation of the armies.

The enemy had poſted a brigade of foot next to the Mehaigne, and filled the ſpace betwixt that and Ramillies with upwards of 100 ſquadrons, among which were the troops of the French King's houſhold. At Ramillies they had about 20 battalions of foot, with a battery of about 12 pieces of treble cannon: from thence to Autregliſe they had formed a line of foot along the Gheete, with a line of horſe at ſome diſtance behind them.

His Grace judging, by the ſituation of the ground, that the ſtreſs of the action would be on our left, ordered, that beſides the proportion of horſe belonging to that wing, the Daniſh ſquadrons, being 20 in number, ſhould alſo be poſted there. It was about two in the afternoon before our army could be formed in order of battle, and then we began the attack on our left with 4 battalions, which puſhed the brigade of foot above-mentioned from their poſt on the Mehaigne. M. d' Auverquerque, about the ſame time, charged with the horſe of that wing. The ſucceſs was doubtful for about half an hour; which the Duke of Marlborough perceiving, ordered the reſt of the horſe of the right wing, (except the Engliſh, who were 17 ſquadrons) to ſupport thoſe on the left.

The attack begun.

The Duke in great danger

Here, while his Grace was rallying ſome, and giving his orders for others to charge, he was in very great danger, being ſingled out by ſeveral of the reſoluteſt of the enemy: and falling from his horſe

horſe at the ſame time, he had either been killed or taken priſoner, if ſome of our foot that were near at hand had not come very ſeaſonably to his aſſiſtance, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this, my Lord Duke had ſtill a greater eſcape, a cannon-ball having taken off Colonel Bringfield's head as he was remounting his Grace. 1706

The village of Ramillies was attacked by a detachment of 12 battalions of foot, commanded by Lieutenant General Schultz, which entered at once with great vigour and reſolution. His Grace haſtened our line of foot thither to ſupport them; which, tho' it was at a great diſtance, yet came up ſoon enough to beat the enemy quite out of the village, and at the ſame time charged the reſt of their foot that were poſted behind the Gheete, as above mentioned; and my Lord Duke ordered the Engliſh horſe to ſupport them.

The enemy routed.

By this time the enemy's right wing of horſe being entirely defeated, the horſe of our left fell upon the foot on their right, of whom they ſlew great numbers, cutting to pieces about 20 of their battalions, whoſe colours they took, and likewiſe their cannon. The reſt of the enemy's foot were entirely broke. The horſe of their left wing ſeemed to make a ſtand, to gain time for their foot to retire; but were charged ſo quick, and with ſo much bravery, by the Engliſh horſe, that they entirely abandoned the foot; and our dragoons puſhing into the village of Autregliſe, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. The French King's own regiment of foot, called the *Regiment du Roy*, begged for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours to the Lord John Hay's dragoons.

Purſued five leagues.

We purſued the enemy all night, by the way of Judoigne, as far as Meldre, being 5 leagues from the place where the action happened, and 2 from Louvain. There the author of this nar-

1706 rative left the army, on Monday night the 24th, preparing to march ſo early as to be at the Dyle the next morning by break of day; and to ſecure the paſs of Neder Yſche, which would give his Grace an opportunity of further improving this great and glorious ſucceſs.

Thus we gained an entire and compleat victory, that, next to the bleſſing of God upon the juſtice of our cauſe, muſt be aſcribed to the great courage, prudence and vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough, who was perſonally preſent in the hotteſt of the action, giving his orders with wonderful ſedateneſs and preſence of mind. M. d' Auverquerque acted with the valour and conduct becoming a great general: the reſt of our generals likewiſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and all our troops, both officers and ſoldiers, fought with the greateſt bravery and reſolution.

Loſs of the enemy. A right judgment could not be made of the exact number of the ſlain, by reaſon we did not ſtay on the field of battle; but the enemy are generally ſuppoſed to have had about 8000 men killed, among whom are numbered the Prince de Monbazon, and another called Prince Maximilian, with divers other perſons of note. We took about 6000 priſoners, among whom are two major-generals; two brigadier-generals; a ſon of the Marſhal de Tallard; a nephew of the Duke of Luxemburg; a nephew of the late Lord Clare, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, whoſe names are not yet known. We have likewiſe taken all their artillery, all the baggage they had with them, and their bread-waggons, beſides a great number of colours, ſtandards, and kettle-drums: and a great part of their heavy baggage, which they had ſent away before the action, was alſo ſeized by our troops at Judoigne. This army conſiſted of the beſt of the enemy's forces, particularly the Gendarms, and others of the French King's

King's houſhold, which are entirely ruined."—— 1706
Thus far the Colonel's relation.

Account publiſhed by the States-General.

In the account publiſhed by order of the States, we have the following particulars: —— "All things being diſpoſed, it was reſolved to attack the village of Ramillies, which was the enemy's principal poſt. In order to that, 20 pieces of cannon, 24 pounders, were brought up; and 12 battalions, who were to be ſupported by the whole line, were commanded for that attack. About two in the afternoon the cannon began to play againſt the enemy. Four battalions were, at the ſame time, detached to diſlodge them from the valley of Taviers, where they had poſted 6 battalions to cover their right wing; our left wing not being able to puſh on any further, before the taking of that poſt. Hereupon the enemy cauſed ſome dragoons to advance to ſupport the 6 battalions. All the horſe of the left wing of the Confederate army marched likewiſe to attack the enemy's right, which advanced at the ſame time towards them. It was then that the fight began with a great deal of fury, and continued with great obſtinacy, till the horſe of our left wing had gained ground enough to attack the enemy in flank; whereupon they began to give way.

Whilſt we were engaged on that ſide, our foot attacked likewiſe the village of Ramillies, which was alſo forced about four o'clock, after a vigorous reſiſtance. The enemy endeavoured to retire from the village; but being got out, they were broke, and entirely deſtroyed, or taken by our horſe; whereupon their army retired a large half league beyond the village, where they drew up again in order of battle, behind a hollow road, and ſome hedges: but our army having advanced between the Yauſe and the Mehaigne, and extended themſelves further in the plain to renew the attack, their right wing retired immediately

further

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further off; and their left wing gave ground likewiſe, before we could come up with them, as we wiſhed. The enemy were afterwards purſued by the whole army."——

Extract from that of the field deputies.

"The glory of this action, ſay the Dutch deputies in their letter to the States-General, is ſo much the greater, becauſe the enemy were poſſeſſed of a very advantageous poſt; and that, according to the report of priſoners, they were 76 battalions, and 140 ſquadrons ſtrong, including the French King's houſhold: ſo that their army was ſuperior in number to that of the Allies. The battle was fought for two hours and a half with extream eagerneſs and fury, and our troops ſuſtained a dreadful fire; but by their bravery and good order they ſurmounted all difficulties, and obtained a very great and glorious victory over the enemy."

Duke of Marlborough's letter to the States.

Two days after the Battle, the Duke of Marlborough, in a letter to the States, tells them, "That he thought fit to delay his congratulati- "ons for the victory till that day; that he might, "at the ſame time, acquaint their High Mightineſſes with the ſucceſs of his deſign of paſſing "the Dyle. We had reſolved, ſays he, to force "our paſſage this morning by break of day; "but the enemy have ſaved us the trouble, having left us an open field by their retreat towards "Bruſſels; ſo that with double joy I give myſelf "the honour to write this letter to you from "Louvain, where I have a long time wiſhed to "be, for the good of the common cauſe. 'Tis "certain, that all the generals, officers, and "ſoldiers, have done all that was poſſible for "men to perform on that glorious day; and their "conduct and bravery cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. I have made choice of Colonel Chanclos "to carry this agreeable news to your High "Mightineſſes, both by reaſon of his merit in "the laſt campaign, and of his ſervices in this.

"He

" He will acquaint your High Mightneſſes with " the particulars of all that has paſſed, and the " preſent poſture of the enemy, whom we are " reſolved to purſue." 1706

The paſſage of the Dyle, and the following ſucceſſes, till the entire reduction of Brabant and Flanders, are fully related in the ſubſequent pieces. *The paſſage of the Dyle.*

" On Monday the 24th, (ſays a narrative publiſhed by Captain Pitt,) the Duke, having ordered the army to encamp at Bavechien, for the refreſhment of the troops, and diſpoſed all things for their march the next morning by break of day, in order to force the paſſage of the Dyle, received advice in the night, that the enemy had quitted their camp, and abandoned Louvain, being retired towards Bruſſels. Hereupon bridges being laid over that river near Louvain, the Allies put a detachment of 500 men into that town. The whole army paſſed over the next day, about noon, and took the camp of Bethlem, from whence they continued their march the 26th towards Bruſſels. His Grace ſoon had notice, that the enemy had likewiſe quitted that place, and Mechlin, and were retired towards Aloſt. About ten o'clock his Grace had a letter from the marquis of Deinſe, governor of Bruſſels, intimating, that the States of Brabant were deſirous to wait on him at ſuch time as he ſhould appoint: upon which the Duke ſent them a compliment by Colonel Panton, in his own name and that of the deputies, letting them know that he ſhould be glad to ſee them at four o'clock in the afternoon. Accordingly there came a deputation from the States of Brabant, another from the ſovereign council, and a third from the magiſtrates of the city. They all expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the happy ſucceſs of the Allies, and their arrival in that neighbourhood. His Grace wrote letters to all the three bodies, to invite them to conſider their own intereſt, and to own their lawful ſovereign

King

1706 King Charles the third. In the evening the magiſtrates of Mechlin came likewiſe to compliment his Grace, and make their ſubmiſſion. Colonel Durell, adjutant-general, was ſent with a detachment of 200 horſe to take poſſeſſion of that town: the governor of which ſtaid in the place, and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. The army encamped that night at Dighem; and the next morning continued its march, and, having paſſed the canal, came to Grimberg. From thence the Duke ſent General Churchill, with 4 battalions of foot and 2 ſquadrons of horſe, to command in Bruſſels.

The enemies loſs appears more and more conſiderable.

The retreat of the enemy in ſuch conſternation, the great number of officers and ſoldiers who were diſcovered to be priſoners, and of thoſe who were left wounded in ſeveral places through which they marched, together with their abandoning the whole country, now made their loſs much greater than it was at firſt thought to be. By the ſpeedy purſuit of the Allies, the French were obliged to leave many wounded officers at Bruſſels, who all became priſoners of war; among others, the Count de Horne, Lieutenant-General; and the Earl of Clare, Major-General; the latter of whom died of his wounds.

Submiſſion of the city of Bruſſels, and the ſtates of Brabant.

The 27th, in the evening, the deputies, who were at the camp the day before, returned, and brought his Grace, three ſeveral inſtruments in due form, one from the three States, another from the ſovereign council, and the third from the city of Bruſſels, owning King Charles III as their lawful ſovereign; repeating likewiſe, in a moſt reſpectful manner, the great ſenſe they had of her Majeſty's goodneſs, in relieving them, by her victorious arms, from the oppreſſions they had ſo long laboured under by the French government. They likewiſe made their acknowledgments to his Grace; and there ſeemed to be an univerſal joy among the people. Several of the Spaniſh troops

troops likewiſe ſhewed a great inclination for the houſe of Auſtria; and declared, that the animoſities between them and the French were grown to ſuch a heighth, that it was impoſſible they ſhould act any longer in conjunction. 1706

Lierre ſurrenders.

The ſame day, the magiſtracy of Lierre ſent a deputation to my Lord Duke, to make their ſubmiſſion, and deſire his Grace's protection. The French retired to Gavre beyond Ghent, not above 24,000 ſtrong, and thoſe not half of them armed, having thrown down their arms in their flight. The Duke of Marlborough appointed a day of thankſgiving to be obſerved throughout the army, to return thanks to Almighty God for the glorious victory wherewith Heaven had bleſt the arms of her Majeſty and the States-General in the late battle of Ramillies, and the wonderful ſucceſſes which had ſince followed, in reducing ſo great a country to the obedience of his catholick Majeſty King Charles III.

The Duke goes to Bruſſels.

The Duke having thought fit, after the great fatigue the troops had undergone in purſuit of the enemy, to give them two days repoſe at Grimberg; his Grace went the 28th in the afternoon to Bruſſels. The chief magiſtrates of the city met his Grace at the gate, and preſented him with their keys; which he returned, with repeated aſſurances of her Majeſty's protection: and, after having received the compliments of the nobility, who expreſſed at the ſame time their affection and fidelity to King Charles III, his Grace returned in the evening to the camp; where he received advice, that the enemy, having carried away their cannon and ammunition from Lierre, had quitted that place: upon which his Grace, the day following, ſent thither a detachment of 200 men to take poſſeſſion of it. The Duke of Wirtemberg alſo was detached with 2000 grenadiers, 1000 horſe, and 6 pieces of cannon, to take poſt at Aloſt.

The

1706 The 30th, the army marched from Grimberg, and encamped near Aloſt; the Duke of Wirtemberg advancing with his detachment towards Gavre, with the pontons for laying bridges over the Scheld near that place, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat towards their own frontiers: but as ſoon as they heard of the motions of the Allies, they quitted their camp between St. Dennis and Ghent, and marched, the 31ſt at 3 o' clock, towards Courtray. His Grace had advice of this upon the march; and that they had evacuated Ghent, leaving only a Spaniſh battalion in the caſtle, with the Prince of Vintimille, governor of the town. The magiſtrates of Ghent came the ſame day to compliment my Lord Duke, and make their ſubmiſſion; and a letter arrived from the States General to his Grace, in which, they expreſs themſelves thus: "Since your glory, after the battles of Schellenberg, Hockſtedt, and Ramillies, can receive no addition by the greatneſs of your victories, we deſire it may by their number. We deſire you to believe, that the eſteem which we have for your excellency's perſon, and rare merit, cannot be greater."

Ghent ſubmits.

Letter from the States General to the Duke of Marlborough.

In the two following anſwers, which his Grace returned, he gives an account of the tranſactions before Ghent.

Letters of the Duke.

"Yeſterday, *ſays he*, after our arrival in this "camp, in the afternoon, the magiſtrates of the "city came to make their ſubmiſſion, and we "have written to them, in concert with Meſſieurs "the deputies, a letter to the ſame effect, as "we did to the city of Bruſſels; and we doubt "not but they will follow their example. The "Prince of Vintimille, governor thereof, who has "been left in the caſtle with a battalion of Spaniards, had ſent to me propoſals; but I am "perſuaded he will ſurrender, as well as the "Marquis de Deinſe, governor of Bruſſels. We "are ſending a detachment to Bruges, to receive

their

" ſubmiſſion; and I have juſt now written two " letters, one to the Marquis de Terracina, go- " vernor of the citadel of Antwerp, wherein are " 4 Spaniſh battalions; and the other to the ma- " giſtrates, to exhort them to ſubmit. Quarter- " maſter General Cadogan is entruſted with thoſe " letters, from which I expect a good ſucceſs." 1706

This letter was dated the firſt day of June, 1706. In another, two days after, his Grace tells them: " That according to what he did " himſelf the honour to write to their high " Mightineſſes, the caſtle of Ghent was obliged " to ſurrender the next day: the Spaniſh bat- " talion, conſiſting of 400 men, with the Colo- " nel, the Marquis de Los Rios, and all the of- " ficers, being made priſoners of war; but that " all the ſoldiers, except 50, declared for King " Charles. The ſummons, ſays he, we ſent to " Bruges, and the country of Francq, has had the " deſired effect. The magiſtrates came hither this " morning to make their ſubmiſſion, and acknow- " ledged their lawful Sovereign in due form. We " cauſed a battalion of the troops of Flanders to " march thereinto, and another was ſent to Dam- " me, which the enemy had abandoned: But what " is more ſurpriſing ſtill, is, that having yeſter- " day cauſed Oudenarde to be ſummoned, and " upon their refuſal ordered that day Lieutenant- " General Scholten to march thither with 7 bat- " talions, 4 pieces of cannon and 2 mortars, the " garriſon, conſiſting of three battalions, imme- " diately capitulated, and a French battalion " therein has obtained leave to retire. The o- " ther 2 battalions, being Spaniards, and the " governor, have declared for King Charles; and " at this inſtant I am informed, that our men have " got into the place. This morning I received a " letter from Brigadier Cadogan, whom I had " ſent to ſummon Antwerp, whereby it appears, " that we had not been rightly informed of the

His ſecond.

Bruges ſubmits.

As does Oudenarde.

1706 " ſtrength of that garriſon; ſince he informs me, " that there are 5 French, and as many Spaniſh " battalions therein. However, he acquaints me, " that they ſeem'd diſpos'd to ſurrender upon " honourable terms; whereupon, having adviſed " with Meſſieurs the deputies and M. d' Auver- " querque, and conſidered the importance of that " place, and how precious time is to us, we have " ſent a full power to the Brigadier to grant them " reaſonable terms, of which we expect an ac- " count to morrow.

" The hand of God appears viſibly in all this, " ſtriking the enemy with ſuch a terror, as obliges " them to deliver up ſo many ſtrong places, and " large countries, without offering the leaſt re- " ſiſtance.

" This has encouraged me to ſummon the " towns of Dendermonde and Oſtend; and for that " purpoſe I have ſent detachments with letters " for the governors. We have made our bridges, " and the neceſſary diſpoſitions to paſs the Scheld " and the Lys to-morrow. I am informed, from " M. Scholten, that the 3 battalions of the gar- " riſon of Oudenarde are all marched away, the " French to Courtray, and the other towards " Mons.

The 4th the army marched from Marlebeck, and having paſſed the Scheld and the Lys, came between Deinſe and Nivelle. The 5th they advanced to Arzelle, where they continued the 6th. That day the garriſon of Antwerp ſurrendered upon articles; and 5 French and as many Spaniſh battalions, in garriſon there, obtained leave to march out with all the marks of honour, and to be conducted to Queſnoy. They were to march out the 19th; which was accordingly executed. The Marquis de Terracina, governor of the citadel, declared for King Charles: and his example was followed by a great many other officers, and moſt of the ſoldiers of the Spaniſh nation.

And Antwerp.

The

1706

The 7th the deputies of the States of Flanders attended my Lord Duke, and the deputies of the States-general, with the reſolution they had taken the day before in their aſſembly at Ghent; which his Highneſs and their excellencies approved. The contents of it was, that they acknowledged King Charles for their lawful Sovereign, and prayed to be maintained in their privileges.

The States of Flanders acknowledge King Charles

The artillery not being come up, the army was unable to undertake any thing for ſeveral days. My Lord Duke therefore took that opportunity to make a trip to the Hague, to confer with the States-general about the further operations of war, and ſome other maters of the higheſt importance. He ſet out the 8th in the morning, and arrived there the 9th. His Grace left the army under the command of M. d' Auverquerque, who made a detachment to block up the town of Dendermonde. My Lord Duke, having finiſhed his negotiations at the Hague, returned the 13th to the army, having been received at Antwerp with extraordinary marks of reſpect. He was met at Merxem, two leagues from Antwerp, by the biſhop of that city, attended by all the Clergy, both ſecular and regular, who aſſured his Grace of their inviolable loyalty and affection to King Charles III, and to the houſe of Auſtria: acknowledging, at the ſame time, his Grace to have been the glorious inſtrument of their happy deliverance from the tyranny of France, under which they had laboured ever ſince the death of King Charles II. The Margrave of Antwerp, with the burgomaſters, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates, attended his Grace at ſome diſtance from the city; where the firſt penſionary, in the name of the reſt, made a ſpeech to the ſame purpoſe as the Clergy had done before; and preſented his Grace the keys of the town; telling him, they had never been delivered up to any perſon ſince the great Duke of Parma, and

His Grace goes to the Hague.

His Reception at Antwerp.

1706 that after a ſiege of 12 months. His Grace, at his entry into the town, was received with all the honours and ceremonies uſually paid to their Sovereign Princes; 150 of the principal citizens going in proceſſion before the coach his Grace was in, with lighted flambeaux, to the biſhop's palace, where he was ſplendidly entertained and lodged that night. The Marquis de Terracina, Grandee of Spain, and governor of the Citadel, declared for King Charles the third, and waited on his Grace during the whole ſolemnity; and the ſtreets were crowded with infinite numbers of people, continually repeating, with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction imaginable, *Long live King Charles the third.* When the garriſon was to march out, according to the capitulation, one Spaniſh and one Walloon Regiment ſtaid behind entire; and of the other regiments of thoſe countries there were ſcarce 150 left when they paſſed by Bruſſels, moſt of the officers and ſoldiers entring into the ſervice of the catholick King; as did likewiſe the Marquis de Winterfeld, Lieutenant-general, and governor of Lierre, who commanded the garriſon in the city of Antwerp; and the Baron de Vrangle, a major-general.

M. d' Auverquerque marched the 15th, with a detachment, to form the ſieges of Oſtend and Newport; and Lieutenant-General Fagel marched at the ſame time with another body, and in the evening took Plaſſendael, ſword in hand. There were above 200 men in the town, under the command of a Lieutenant-Colonel, and ſome of them were put to the ſword. Thoſe troops advanced, and took the bridge of Santworde, ſecuring thereby ſome ſluices. They marched the next day to approach Oſtend, which was cloſely blocked up at ſea, by a Squadron under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborn.

Plaſſendael taken.

Theſe tranſactions in the Netherlands appear ſo glorious, from the letters and other authentick accounts

accounts we have inſerted, that few particulars can be added to them. We ſhall only take notice, that as all the generals in the battle of Ramillies gained a great deal of honour, ſo all of them were expoſed to the greateſt danger. My Lord Duke was unhorſed twice; and the firſt time Captain Moleſworth, one of his aids-de-camp, was very inſtrumental in ſaving his life. That gentleman threw himſelf off his horſe, remounted his Grace, and, tho' he was on foot in the midſt of the enemy, he had the good fortune to eſcape. M. d' Auverquerque was in great danger of his life; for beſides the dangers in the fight, that are common to all, a Bavarian officer, whoſe life he had preſerved out of meer generoſity, would have killed him, had not ſome of his retinue prevented the blow, and ſhot the ruffian. One thing may be mentioned for its great oddneſs, tho' ſix years before it would have been more ſingular. It is, that the Lord John Hay, who commanded a regiment of Scots dragoons, when the regiment of foot, called the King's, conſiſting of 1200 men, ſubmitted to him and ſurrendered their arms and colours, ordered, to prevent their running away, and the neceſſity of ſetting a ſtrong guard over them, that every man ſhould cut a piece out of the waiſtband of his breeches, which obliged to hold them up with one hand; and in that poſture they marched with a guard only of 25 dragoons and a ſerjeant. King Charles of Sweden did ſomething like this by the Muſcovites, after the battle of Narva.

1706

Dangers of the generals in the battle of Ramillies.

The principality of Mindelheim confirmed to the Duke.

While his Grace was obtaining theſe laurels, the Emperor ſent a decree to the Diet of the Empire, importing, that having thought fit to create the Duke of Marlborough a Prince of the Empire, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices, he had erected the county of Mindelheim into a principality, and given it to that prince, to qualify him to ſit and vote in the college of princes of the Em-

1706 pire; and that therefore his Majeſty recommended to them to admit his plenipotentiary thereinto, without any delay, that the ſaid prince of Mindelheim might be encouraged more and more to continue his ſervices to Germany and the common cauſe.

Mr. Stepney takes poſſeſſion of it.

The Duke having appointed Mr. Stepney to take poſſeſſion of his principality, and her Britiſh Majeſty having been pleaſed to allow the ſaid Mr. Stepney, her envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Imperial court, to take poſſeſſion of it in his Highneſs's name, the ceremony was performed in the town-hall, May the 24th, and the next day by the officers, Magiſtrates, burghers, and other ſubjects of the principality. Count Konigſeg, one of the Emperor's privy-council, and his firſt commiſſioner for this act, declared, that his Imperial Majeſty had transferred on the Duke, in conſideration of his important ſervices, all his right to the ſaid principality; in teſtimony whereof a ſecretary of the feudal-court read the letter of inveſtiture, and then a patent, whereby the officers and ſubjects were firſt diſcharged from the obedience and vaſſalage which they ſwore a year before to his Imperial Majeſty, upon the death of Maximilian, late Duke of Bavaria. They were afterwards directed to take a new oath of homage to the Duke of Marlborough, as Prince of Mindelheim, which was adminiſter'd to them, by Mr. Stepney's order in the preſence of count Konigſeg, and two other Imperial commiſſioners, who had before the joint adminiſtration of that country. The whole ceremony was performed with a great deal of decency; and the people in general gave all demonſtrations of their ſatisfaction, in being under his Highneſs's protection.

THE

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK IV.

To the end of the campaign, in 1707.

THO' Oſtend was inveſted the 20th of June, the getting of faſcines and other neceſſary things prevented the opening the trenches till 28th at night, when that work was performed by Lieutenant-General Fagel, having under him Major-General Lauder and Brigadier Amama, with 2 colonels, and 2000 ſoldiers or pioneers, ſupported by 4 battalions. The 3d of July Sir Stafford Fairborn came aſhore to confer with M. d' Auverquerque, and reſolved that the next day his bomb-veſſels ſhould draw near the place to bombard it, while they did

1706 *Siege of Oſtend.*

1706 did the ſame thing on the land-ſide. This was ſo well executed, that in a few hours the town was on fire in ſeveral places. The next day the Duke of Marlborough came into the army, and, having dined with M. d' Auverquerque, went to view the approaches. His Grace was ſaluted by the cannon of the men of war under Sir Stafford Fairborn, and returned the ſame evening to his army at Rouſſelaer. The ſame night the counterſcarp was attacked, and a lodgment made thereon, without any great reſiſtance. The batteries continued to play with great ſucceſs the 5th and 6th, and the garriſon, ſeeing preparations made for ſtorming the place, thought fit to beat a parley, and the following capitulation was agreed upon:

Articles of capitulation.

" 1. That the garriſon ſhould march out only with their ſwords by their ſides, and their baggage, upon condition that they ſhould not ſerve for ſix months againſt King Charles III, and his Allies. 2. That the Spaniſh troops ſhould be conducted to Mons, and the French to Dunkirk. 3, 4, and 5. That all the engineers and officers belonging to the artillery, the governor of Damme, and the commiſſaries of proviſions, both Spaniards and French, ſhould be allowed to march out upon the ſame conditions as the garriſon. 6. That all the ſick and wounded, both officers and ſoldiers, ſhould be ſent, thoſe of Spain to Mons, and thoſe of France to Dunkirk; and that they and the comptrollers, phyſicians, undertakers, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and others belonging to the hoſpital, ſhould be ſupplied with a ſufficient number of covered waggons; but that the waggons ſhould be liable to be viſited, and their charges ſhould be borne by the two crowns." Theſe were the principal articles, and the garriſon marched out accordingly the 8th of June; but two Spaniſh battalions, and 4 troops of dragoons of the ſame nation, did not make above 60 men;

men; all the reſt having deſerted to return home, or liſt themſelves in the ſervice of the Allies. Lieutenant-General Spaar was appointed governor of this place. 1706

Motions of the Duke of Marlborough

M. d' Auverquerque having cauſed the approaches to be levelled, and left a good garriſon in Oſtend and Plaſſendael, marched to join the Duke of Marlborough, who advanced the 8th from Rouſſelaer to Herlebeck, took poſſeſſion of Courtray, and the 11th advanced to Helchin on the Scheld, where he ordered four bridges to be laid over that river. The country people between the Scheld and the Lys were commanded to level the lines. The Prince-Royal of Pruſſia arrived in this camp to ſerve as a voluntier under his Grace, and was received with all the reſpects due to his high birth: and the troops of Pruſſia and Hanover, with 3000 Palatines, having joined the grand army, they made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a ſiege. The French, by means of their ſluices, had rendered the Lys unnavigable below Menin. General Saliſh was therefore ſent, with a ſtrong detachment, to break down the ſluices between Armentieres, Liſle, and Menin, to free the courſe of the Lys, that the boats loaden with artillery and ammunition might come up from thence to Courtray. Mean time, the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Pruſſia, attended by ſeveral generals, advanced within a mile of Tournay, to take a narrow view of that place. The Elector of Bavaria, who, after his quitting Ghent, retired to Mons, left that place alſo, upon advice of the Duke of Marlborough's being arrived on the Scheld, and would not ſuffer an Opera which they had prepared at Mons to be repreſented for the anniverſary of his birth-day.

The ſiege of Menin.

His Grace having reſolved to beſiege Menin, in order to execute his further projects, General Saliſh was commanded for that ſervice. The trenches were opened in the night between the

3d

1706 3d and 4th of Auguſt, by two attacks. The approaches were carried on with all poſſible diligence, and the batteries being got ready to fire, the 9th of Auguſt they began to batter the place, and made ſuch a progreſs therein, that on the 18th the Allies ſtormed the counterſcarp.

Attack of the counterſcarp. This proved the bloodieſt action that has been in any ſiege ſince the attack of the covert-way of Keyſerwaert. Lieutenant-General Scholts commanded the attack on the right, having under him Major-General Pallant and Brigadier Swartzell; and the left was commanded by the Earl of Orkney, having under him Major-General de Villates, and the Duke of Argyle, Brigadier. There were 300 grenadiers at each attack, and as many fuſiliers; and the regiments of Lothum, Ingoldſby, Pallant, Fagel, Lauder, Vogelin, Goven, Runk, and Leers, ſupported them. The attack began with ſpringing two mines under the two ſaliant angles of the covert-way, which had a good effect; and then the grenadiers advancing with an uncommon intrepidity to the paliſades, threw their grenades into the covert-way, and leaped after them, killing all that they found. The enemy made a great reſiſtance, and the firſt 5 battalions ſuffered very much, by reaſon of the great fire they made from the place. But at laſt the Confederates lodged themſelves on the four angles of the counterſcarp, and began to erect their batteries thereon. The loſs on both ſides, in the attack of the counterſcarp, was computed at above 2000 men, killed and wounded. The beſiegers had 3 engineers killed, and as many wounded. The troops followed the example of their generals, and behaved themſelves with unparallel'd bravery. The Duke of Argyle diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner on this occaſion; as his Grace did at the ſiege of Oſtend.

The

1706

The Duke of Vendome threatening to attempt the relief of Menin, the Duke of Marlborough cauſed his army to make a motion, the left advancing to Lawe near Menin, that he might be in a condition to fight the French if they made any motion towards the latter place. This ſiege had coſt the Allies but few men before the attack of the counterſcarp, and not one officer of note except Brigadier Capol, and a ſon of the late Earl of Athlone. Count Corneille, ſon to M. d' Auverquerque, known in the army by the title of Count Naſſau Oudenburg, Brigadier-General of horſe, going into the trenches with the Princes of Naſſau-Dillenburg, out of curioſity, was wounded.

M. de Vendome threatens to relieve the place.

The 19th, at night, the Allies began two ſaps, in order to make a deſcent into the ditch; and they worked upon the batteries on the counterſcarp. The 20th they finiſhed two batteries, one of 6 and the other of 5 pieces of cannon, which began to fire upon the baſtion and ravelin, the next morning, at break of day; and 2 more battalions being perfected, were ready to play the 22d in the morning. The Duke going thither at the ſame time, to ſee what progreſs was made, the governor beat a parley; whereupon the hoſtages were exchanged about 9 that morning.

Progreſs of the beſiegers.

The garriſon deſired, among other things, that they might be allowed four days from the date of the capitulation to expect ſuccours; and if they were not relieved in that time, a gate ſhould then be delivered up.

The Governor offers articles of capitulation.

This article they propoſed was refuſed; and it was agreed in the evening, that they ſhould deliver up the gate of Bruges the next day, being the 23d, at 9 in the morning: that they ſhould march out with the marks of honour, but ſhould carry away with them only 4 pieces of cannon and 2 mortars, and ſhould be conducted to Douay: that

The capitulation concluded.

1706 that they ſhould be provided with waggons and boats: that their ſick and wounded, who could not be removed, ſhould be taken care of in the town at their own charge: that as to the debts of any of the garriſon, they ſhould not be ſtopped for them, provided they gave ſuch ſecurity for the payment thereof as ſhould be accepted by their creditors: that 8 covered-waggons ſhould be allowed them: that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty, as deſired. It was agreed, that the capitulation ſhould be ſigned by the General who commanded the ſiege, as is uſual in like caſes; and the Allies promiſed that care ſhould be taken to prevent any diſorder, and juſtice ſhould be done immediately upon any complaint. In purſuance of this capitulation, the Duke of Argyle took poſſeſſion of the gate of Bruges, the 23d in the morning, with a guard of 200 men. The ſurrender of this garriſon happened ſome days ſooner than the Allies could have expected, conſidering their numbers and the ſtrength of the place; and that there were very conſiderable magazines, both of ammunition and proviſions.

The garriſon marches out. The 25th, in the morning, the garriſon of Menin, conſiſting of 12 battalions of foot, and 3 ſquadrons of diſmounted dragoons, making in all about 4300 men, marched out with the uſual marks of honour, under a guard of 200 of the Confederate horſe, who conducted them the next day to Douay. The French officers owned they had upwards of 1000 men killed and wounded during the ſiege; but it appeared they loſt many more, and ſeveral deſerted as they marched out. M. de Caraman, the commander, ſaluted the Duke of Marlborough, and made his Grace a compliment as he paſſed by in the rear of the garriſon. Major-General Welderen, being appointed to command in Menin, took poſſeſſion of the town the ſame day with 5 Dutch battalions of foot. The

Allies

lies found in the place 55 pieces of braſs cannon, and 10 of iron, beſides ſeveral other pieces that were buried under-ground; 6 mortars, 810 double barrels of powder, 387 double barrels of muſket-ball, beſides a great quantity of all other ſorts of ammunition. As to the loſs of the Allies in this ſiege, it amounted to near 3000 men killed and wounded. 1706

The Duke of Marlborough, upon viſiting the town of Menin, after the garriſon was marched out, found among the artillery 4 pieces of cannon with the arms of England, taken at the battle of Landen; which his Grace directed to be ſent to England. He then gave orders for the beſieging of Dendermonde, in form, and General Churchill was appointed to command the ſiege. *The ſiege of Dendermonde*

The 1ſt of September, three days after the ſiege began, the Duke of Marlborough arrived in the camp to preſs on the attack, where the batteries had almoſt ruined two of the redoubts. The next day was employed in forming the batteries againſt the town, which began to fire, the 4th, with ſuch ſucceſs, that a breach was almoſt practicable by the next morning, when the beſiegers attacked the redoubt at the Bruſſels port. The enemy retired in ſuch confuſion, that they were purſued to the gates of the town. The garriſon thereupon beat a parley; but they inſiſting upon an honourable capitulation, orders were given for renewing the attack. The governor then deſired a little longer time; and at five in the afternoon they ſubmitted to be priſoners of war, and immediately delivered up the Mechlin-gate. The garriſon was conducted to Holland: it conſiſted of 2 French regiments of foot, a Spaniſh battalion, 700 men drawn out of ſeveral other regiments, and 200 dragoons mounted. Thus, after 7 days ſiege, the Duke of Marlborough became maſter of a place, that has formerly baffled the French King's *The garriſon made priſoners of war.*

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army, who beſieged it in perſon. His Grace appointed Brigadier Meredith to command here with a garriſon of 500 men, beſides the regiment of Sarra-Blanca.

The ſiege of Aeth.

M. d' Auverquerque having inveſted the town of Aeth with 40 battalions and 30 ſquadrons, the trenches were opened the 20th of September, and the works were carried on with ſo much ſucceſs, that on the 29th the beſiegers made a lodgment on the covert-way, and in the night between the laſt of September and the 1ſt of October, they took poſſeſſion of the counter-guard before the baſtion which was attacked. This obliged the garriſon to beat a parley, and they ſent two officers, to demand an honourable capitulation. M. d'Auverquerque gave them to underſtand, that they were to expect no other terms than to be priſoners of war; but that, out of courteſy, he would allow the officers their ſwords and baggage, and the ſoldiers their knapſacks, giving them half an hour's time to conſider of it. The Dutch general ſent one of his adjutants with them, to know the governor's reſolution, who brought word at firſt, that he would not agree to it; upon which, hoſtilities were renewed. But the next morning they beat a parley a ſecond time, and the ſame two officers were again ſent out, one of them being a colonel, and the other adjutant to the Duke of Vendome. After ſome conteſt, it was agreed, that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Accordingly, on the 4th of October, 150 officers, and about 600 ſoldiers, which were the whole number, beſides almoſt 300 ſick and wounded left in the hoſpitals, that remained of 2100, were ſent to Ghent, to be embarked there for Bergen-op-zoom.

The garriſon ſurrenders priſoners of war.

The Duke of Marlborough covers that ſiege.

The Duke of Marlborough continued encamped at Gramez all this while, to cover the ſiege of Aeth; and the Duke of Vendome contented himſelf

ſelf to behold the taking of that place, with the ſame tranquillity with which he had ſeen the taking of Menin. The forces of the Allies, being joined again, encamped in the plain of Cambron, from whence Major-General Murray was detached with 10 battalions to fortify Courtray. The French army lay between Mons and Conde, and their General ordered all the garriſons in the French Flanders to join his army, as if he was reſolved to oppoſe the ſiege of Mons. 1706

The ſeaſon of the year being now too far advanced to undertake any other ſiege in the Netherlands, the Duke of Marlborough reſolved to ſeparate his army in the beginning of November, and went to Bruſſels the 27th of October, attended by Mr. Stepney, her Majeſty's Envoy-Extraordinary, and ſeveral general officers. His Grace was met at ſome diſtance from the town by General Churchill, Count Zinzendorf, and other perſons of quality, with whom, at the repeated requeſt of the magiſtrates, he made his entry on horſeback. At the Anderlecht port his Grace was received by the burgomaſter and magiſtrates, who there preſented him the keys of honour, and made him a very handſome ſpeech; expreſſing their gratitude to her Majeſty of Great-Britain and the Engliſh nation, and to his Grace, the glorious inſtrument of their deliverance. The ſtreets through which his Grace paſſed, were filled with a great concourſe of nobility and gentry, and lined with the burghers under arms. The people made loud acclamations, and gave all other demonſtrations of joy; the cannon in the mean time firing from the ramparts. In a word, the ſame honours were paid to his Grace as were formerly to the Dukes of Burgundy. His Grace alighted at the palace of Orange, where he was complimented by the council of State, the States of Brabant, and the chief of the clergy. The 28th in

The Duke of Marlborough's publick reception at Bruſſels.

1706 the morning the magiſtrates waited on him again in a body, and preſented him with what they call *the wine of honour*, which was brought in a tun, gilded, and painted with his Grace's arms, upon a carriage, with ſtreamers, drawn by 6 horſes, preceded by trumpets and kettle-drums, and attended by a cavalcade of young ſtudents on horſeback, finely cloathed, with devices in their hands in honour of his Grace, repreſenting the great actions of that campaign. The next day his Grace ſet out from Bruſſels on his return to the army, having during his ſtay received all poſſible marks of honour and reſpect from the whole city.

The troops go into Winter-quarters.

The army, being marched to St. Quintin Linnick, ſeparated the 6th of November, and the troops filed off to their reſpective garriſons. The Engliſh forces were quartered in Ghent under their own general; the Danes in Bruges, and the Pruſſians and the Lunenburghers along the Demer, and between the Maeſe and the Rhine. The Dutch troops were in ſeveral places, under their reſpective generals. M. d'Auverquerque commanded in chief in the Netherlands, (the Duke of Marlborough having refuſed that honour, as well as the whole civil government of the conquered provinces) and reſided at Bruſſels during the Winter.

His Grace at the Hague.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived the 8th of November at the Hague, and received the compliments of the States and foreign miniſters on his wonderful campaign. His Grace had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, wherein they agreed, that the ſteps France had made towards a peace, ſhould be communicated to the miniſters of the Allies, to take off all ſuſpicions of ſecret negotiations, and encourage them to redouble their efforts againſt the next campaign.

Pur-

Purſuant to this reſolution, the States having deſired the miniſters of the potentates that were in the grand alliance to be preſent at an extraordinary congreſs, their deputies for foreign affairs made a notification to them that gave them great ſatisfaction. They owned, that France had formerly, by ſome private perſons, made general intimations of their willingneſs to treat of peace, and that laſt Winter the Marquis d' Alegre had preſented the States a formal memorial on the ſame ſubject, the ſubſtance of which was read to the congreſs: that they had given no ear to theſe advances, nor communicated them to the Allies, becauſe they did not judge them worth imparting to them. But that, in October paſt, the Elector of Bavaria had written a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, and another to the field-deputies of the States; which two letters and the anſwers that had been returned to them, were alſo communicated to the congreſs. The firſt of theſe letters, and the Duke's anſwer, are as follows: the other letter and anſwer we ſhall omit, as being the ſame in ſubſtance with what we inſert. The Elector expreſſes himſelf thus:

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Overtures of peace made by France communicated to the Allies.

A letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Duke of Marlborough.

" THE Moſt Chriſtian King, Sir, finding " that ſome overtures of peace, which he " had cauſed to be made by private ways, had, " inſtead of producing the good effect of making " known his diſpoſitions for promoting a general " peace, been looked upon, by ill-deſigning per- " ſons, as an artifice to diſunite the Allies, and " make an advantage of the miſunderſtanding " that might be created amongſt them, has re- " ſolved to ſhew the ſincerity of his intentions, " by renouncing all ſecret negotiations, and o- " penly propoſing conferences, in which means " may be found for re-eſtabliſhing the tranquillity " of Europe.

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" The Moſt Chriſtian King is pleaſed to commiſſion me to inform you of this, and to deſire you to acquaint the Queen of England with it.

" I give the like notification, on the part of the Moſt Chriſtian King, to the States-General, by a letter that I have written to their field-deputies: and he would do the like with regard to the other potentates that are at war with him, had they miniſters ſo near at hand as you are, to receive the like intimation; he having no deſign to exclude any of the ſaid potentates from the negotiation that ſhall be begun in the conferences he propoſes.

" Further, for advancing a good ſo great and neceſſary to Europe, which has too long ſuffered the inevitable calamities of war, he conſents, that a place may forthwith be choſen between the two armies, and after their ſeparation between Mons and Bruſſels, in which, with you, Sir, (with whom the intereſts of England are ſo ſafely intruſted) the deputies the States ſhall pleaſe to nominate, and the perſons whom the King of France ſhall impower, they may open their intentions upon ſo important an affair.

" I am extremely pleaſed, Sir, to have ſuch an occaſion to make you this overture, being perſuaded it will leave no room for making a doubt of the ſentiments of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: and as it may be ſo beneficial to all Europe, you will be glad to give an account of this to the Queen of England, without loſs of time, and to whomſoever elſe you ſhall think fit. I ſhall expect your anſwer, Sir, to communicate to the Moſt Chriſtian King; and ſhall always be ready, Sir, to do you ſervice."

Mons, Oct. 21, 1706. Signed, *M. Emanuel* Elector.

To

To which his Grace returned the following anſwer: 1706

SIR,

The Duke's Anſwer.

" HAVING communicated to the Queen, " my miſtreſs, what your electoral highneſs " did me the honour to write to me in your letter " of the 21ſt of laſt month, of the intenti- " ons of the moſt Chriſtian King to endeavour to " re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Europe, by con- " ferences to be held for that purpoſe between " deputies on both ſides; her majeſty has com- " manded me to anſwer your electoral-highneſs, " that it is a pleaſure to her to be informed of " the King's inclination to agree to the making " of a ſolid and laſting peace with all the Allies. " As this is the ſole end that obliged her Majeſty " to continue this war till now; ſo ſhe will be " very glad to conclude it in concert with all her " Allies, on conditions that may ſecure them " from all apprehenſions of being forced to take " up arms again after a ſhort interval, as hap- " pened laſt time. Her majeſty is alſo willing " I ſhould declare, that ſhe is ready to enter, " jointly with all the high Allies, into juſt and " neceſſary meaſures for ſettling ſuch a peace; " her majeſty being determined not to enter upon " any negotiation without the participation of " her ſaid Allies. But the way of Conferences " that is propoſed, without more particular de- " clarations on the part of his moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty, does not ſeem proper to her for at- " taining a truly ſolid and laſting peace. Their " lordſhips the States-Generals are of the ſame " opinion. Therefore your electoral highneſs " will rightly judge, that it is neceſſary to think of " other more ſolid means to attain ſo great an end, " to which her Majeſty will contribute with all the " ſincerity that can be wiſhed, having nothing ſo " much at heart as the relief of her ſubjects,

" and

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" and the tranquillity of Europe. Your Electoral " Highneſs will always do me the juſtice, to be " perſuaded of the reſpect with which I have the " honour to be, *&c.*

Hague, Nov. 20, 1706. MARLBOROUGH.

Speeches of the States deputies on this occaſion.

After reading theſe pieces, the deputies of the States made a ſpeech to the congreſs, purſuant to their inſtructions. They ſet forth, " That peace " could not but be extremely agreeable to them, " and no doubt to all the other high Allies, if " it could be had on ſuch terms as might reaſon- " ably promiſe for its being firm and laſting; but " that the Conference propoſed, without a more " particular diſcovery of the intention of France, " or without a probable certainty, or appear- " ance, of good ſucceſs, did not ſeem to their High " Mightineſſes, to be a proper means for attain- " ing it, but rather a means to divert the thoughts " of war, and of the great preparations the " enemy made, and to lull ſome of the Allies a- " ſleep by the hopes of peace: that their High " Mightineſſes, for their own parts, were re- " ſolved to ſtick to the meaſures they had taken, " and to the alliance made, which God had " hitherto ſo wonderfully bleſt, and to execute " and obſerve ſincerely what was ſtipulated and " promiſed by the treaties; and therefore not " to enter into any negotiation of peace, but " jointly with their high Allies, and not without " communicating to them faithfully, conformably " to the ſaid treaties, the overtures that might " be made to them on this ſubject; expecting " that the high Allies would do no leſs on their " part."

The Duke and the States for continuing the war.

The grand penſionary, and the Duke of Marlborough, ſpoke very nobly and prudently on this occaſion, and both concluded for continuing the war. They alſo deſired the miniſters to write to their principals, to exhort them to exert their beſt efforts

efforts for carrying on the war effectually, and to take example by England and Holland, who were determined to make a moſt vigorous campaign. The aſſembly was exceedingly charmed and ſatisfied with the ſincere, obliging, and honeſt communication of the aforeſaid premiſes. After this his Grace, having finiſhed his affairs at the Hague, ſet out for England, where he arrived towards the end of November. 1706

His Grace receives the thanks of the houſe of commons.

On the 3d of December the Houſe of Commons reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the thanks of their houſe be given to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, for his eminent ſervice to her Majeſty and this kingdom, in the great and glorious victory and ſucceſſes obtained over the common enemy in the laſt campaign; and appointed a committee to attend the Duke of Marlborough with the ſaid thanks. He was attended upon the next day, and told them, in anſwer to their ſpeech; *His anſwer.*

" That if any thing could add to his ſatisfaction " in the ſervices he had endeavoured to do to " the Queen and his country, it would be the " particular notice which the houſe of commons " was pleaſed to take of them, ſo much to his " advantage."

The Lord Keeper's Speech to him

On the 5th of the ſame month, the Duke having taken his ſeat in the houſe of Lords, the Lord-Keeper, Cowper, informed his Grace, that he was commanded by that houſe to give his Grace that acknowledgment and thanks for the eminent ſervices he had done ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament to her Majeſty and his country, together with the Confederates, in this juſt and neceſſary war.

" Tho' your ſucceſſes (ſaid that great orator) " againſt the power of France, while it remained " unbroken, give moſt reaſonable expectation that " you would not fail to improve them; yet what " your Grace hath performed this laſt campaign " has far exceeded all hopes, even of ſuch as were

" moſt

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" moſt affectionate and partial to their country's " intereſt and your glory. The advantages you " have gained againſt the enemy are of ſuch a " nature, ſo conſpicuous in themſelves, ſo un- " doubtedly owing to your courage and conduct, " ſo ſenſibly and univerſally beneficial in their con- " ſequences to the whole confederacy, that to " attempt to adorn them with the colouring of " words would be vain and inexcuſable, and there- " fore I decline it; the rather, becauſe I ſhould " certainly offend that great modeſty which alone " can and does add luſtre to your actions, and " which in your Grace's example has ſucceſsfully " withſtood as great trials as that virtue has met " with in any inſtance whatſoever: and I beg " leave to ſay, that if any thing could move your " Grace to reflect with much ſatisfaction on your " own merit, it would be this, that ſuch an " auguſt aſſembly does with one voice praiſe and " thank you: an honour, which a judgment ſo " ſure as that of your Grace's to think rightly of " every thing, cannot but prefer to the oſtentation " of a publick triumph."

His anſwer. His Grace replied, " that he eſteemed it a very particular honour which their Lordſhips were pleaſed to do him, and that nobody in the world could be more ſenſible of it than he, nor more deſirous to deſerve the continuance of their favour and good opinion." On the 26th of the ſame month the Houſe of Lords preſented an addreſs to the Queen; ſetting forth, " that having with much " ſatisfaction conſidered the many great actions " which the Duke of Marlborough had perform'd " in her Majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of his coun- " try, and for the good of the common cauſe of " Europe, their Lordſhips were deſirous to expreſs " the juſt ſenſe they had of his merit, in a peculiar " and diſtinguiſhing manner, and, in order to per- " petuate the memory thereof, to ſettle and con- " tinue his titles and honours, with his right " of

An addreſs of the Lords for perpetuating the Duke's honours.

" of precedence, in his poſterity, by act of par- 1706
" liament, as the method moſt effectual for that
" end, and beſt ſuiting ſo great an occaſion: but
" yet, having always a juſt regard for the pre-
" rogatives of the crown (her Majeſty being the
" ſole fountain of honour) they thought it their
" duty in the firſt place, to have recourſe to her
" Majeſty for her royal allowance, before any or-
" der given for bringing in a bill of ſuch a nature;
" and at the ſame time to deſire her Majeſty would
" be graciouſly pleaſed to let the houſe know in
" what manner it would be moſt acceptable to her
" Majeſty, that the ſaid titles and honours ſhould
" be limited."

Her Majeſty's pleaſure was ſoon ſignified by her moſt gracious anſwer.

" Nothing, ſays ſhe, can be more acceptable *Queen's anſwer.*
" to me than your addreſs. I am entirely ſa-
" tisfied with the ſervices of the Duke of Marl-
" borough, and therefore cannot but be pleaſed
" you have ſo juſt a ſenſe of them.

" I muſt not omit to take notice, that the re-
" ſpectful manner of your proceeding, in deſiring
" my allowance for bringing in the bill, and my
" direction for the limitation of the honours, does
" give me great ſatisfaction.

" My intention is, that after the determination
" of the eſtate which the Duke of Marlborough
" now has in his titles and honours, the ſame
" ſhould be limited to his eldeſt daughter, and
" the heirs-male of her body, and then to all his
" other daughters ſucceſſively, according to their
" priority of birth, and the heirs male of their
" reſpective bodies; and afterwards in ſuch man-
" ner as may moſt effectually anſwer my deſign
" and your's in perpetuating the memory of his
" merit, by continuing, as far as may be done,
" his titles and name to all his poſterity.

" I think it would be proper, that the honour
" and manour of Woodſtock, and the houſe of
" Blenheim,

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" Blenheim, ſhould always go along with the " titles; and therefore I recommend that matter " to your conſideration."

Then the Duke of Marlborough, after expreſſing the ſenſe he had of the great and diſtinguiſhing honour which the houſe had been pleaſed to do him in their reſolution, and their application to her Majeſty, informed their Lordſhips, " That in relation to that part of her Majeſty's gracious anſwer, which concerned the eſtate of Woodſtock and the houſe of Blenheim, he had made his humble requeſt to the Queen, that thoſe might go along with the titles: and I make, *ſays he*, the like requeſt to your Lordſhips, that after the Ducheſs of Marlborough's death (upon whom they are ſettled in jointure) that eſtate and houſe may be limited to go always along with the honour."

His Grace's ſpeech to the Lords.

An act of parliament for perpetuating his honours with the manour of Woodſtock and houſe of Blenheim.

On the 28th of December, a bill from the Lords, for an act for ſettling the honours and dignities of John Duke of Marlborough upon his poſterity, and annexing the honour and manour of Woodſtock, and houſe of Blenheim, to go along with the ſaid honours, was read three times by the Houſe of Commons, and paſſed *nemine contradicente:* and the very next day it received the royal aſſent, when the Queen told both houſes of parliament, that the particular notice they had taken of the eminent ſervices of the Duke of Marlborough was very agreeable to her, and ſhe did not doubt would be ſo to the whole kingdom.

We are now come to the end of that campaign in which the Allies gained more advantages than in any other during the whole war: and here, according to my cuſtom before obſerved, I ſhould make ſome reflections by way of recapitulation, had not that part been excellently well done to my hand, in the petition of the Dutch council of war to the States General, as delivered in at the end of the year to their High Mightineſſes. It goes back to the beginning of the war, and contains,

tains, in few words, a judicious ſummary of all the moſt material tranſactions to this time. Tho' it ſeems to reſpect moſt peculiarly the intereſts of the States-General, the reader will find in it a faithful repreſentation of whatever concerns the grand alliance, and the general reaſons for making new efforts in the next campaign. 1706

Recapitulation. campaign of 1702.

" In 1702, ſay they, when the war was begun in theſe parts, as it had been before in " Italy, the enemy were indeed diſlodged from " the frontiers of this State along the Rhine and " the Maeſe, by the taking of Keyſerſwaert, moſt " of the towns and forts in the Spaniſh Gelder- " land, and Liege; and the expedition by ſea " againſt Spain, after much loitering and fruitleſs " attempts about Cadiz, was no leſs advantage- " ouſly than luckily terminated at Vigo. But, in " the mean time, we were not without appre- " henſion of danger from the enemy's attempts " on the ſide of Nimeguen and Hulſt; and the " State was obliged, for its better ſecurity, to " take more troops into ſervice, beſides the re- " cruits and levies that were already made.

Campaign of 1703.

" Theſe progreſſes and efforts putting the e- " nemy upon recruiting their old troops and raiſ- " ing new, eſtabliſhing great magazines on their " frontiers, and making all manner of preparati- " ons to render themſelves ſuperior in arms to " the Allies in all parts, your High Mightineſſes, " with her Majeſty the Queen of Great-Britain, " found it neceſſary, in 1703, to augment your " forces with 20,000 men more: and tho' the " military operations on this ſide were not un- " proſperous that year, particularly on the Lower " Rhine and the Maeſe, Bon, Huy and Limburg " being taken, and tho' that year the King of " Portugal and the Duke of Savoy came into the " grand alliance, yet the affairs of the High Allies " did not go ſo ſucceſsfully in other parts. In the " Netherlands, about Maeſtricht and Antwerp, we

1706 " found ourſelves in very great danger; and in
" Germany the enemy had ſo great a ſuperiority,
" what with their own and their Confederate
" forces, that early in the Spring, even before
" the winter was well over, they paſſed the Rhine,
" and making themſelves maſters of fort Kehl,
" and other places thereabouts, marched thro'
" very difficult and barren ways to the Danube;
" put the two adjacent and not the leaſt circles
" of the Empire, and even the Archdukedom of
" Auſtria, and county of Tirol, into great per-
" plexity; took (notwithſtanding the ſuccours
" ſent up by your High Mightineſſes) the for-
" treſſes of Briſac and Landau; and, laſtly, by
" their advantages in the Spierbach, ſpread the
" terror of their arms to the Main and the Mo-
" ſelle.

Campaign of 1704. " The campaign of 1704 was opened by the
" enemy on the Upper Rhine and the Danube;
" and, to redreſs the imminent danger it brought
" upon the Allies, and prevent the fatal conſe-
" quences that were apprehended from it, your
" High Mightineſſes, with her Majeſty the Queen
" of Great-Britain, were obliged to ſend up a
" very conſiderable number of troops, which had
" ſuch ſucceſs, that a ſtop was put to the pro-
" greſs of the enemy; and by the great battle
" of Hockſtedt, fought ſoon after that at Schel-
" lenberg, all that was loſt was recovered, Briſac
" and fort Kehl only excepted: but in the mean
" time, the arms of the Allies had not the ſame
" ſucceſs in other parts, particularly in Portugal
" and Piedmont; where, beſides the reduction
" of the Dutchy of Savoy, ſeveral places were
" forced to ſubmit to the enemy, tho' not with-
" out putting them to very great expence of
" blood, eſpecially Verrua, which coſt them a
" hard ſiege of above ſix months.

Campaign of 1705. " Theſe ſucceſſes, High and Mighty Lords,
" gave us good ground to hope that the enemy,

" who

" who in the battle of Hockſtedt, and the ſiege 1706
" of Verrua, had in effect loſt two armies, could
" not repair that loſs, at leaſt not ſo ſpeedily as
" to hinder the military operations of the Allies
" the next year on the Moſelle and the Saar, and
" country adjacent, where France is leaſt fortified
" by art. But the event was very different from
" thoſe hopes and appearances. The enemy
" took the field firſt again on the Moſelle, with
" a formidable army, and poſted themſelves in
" ſuch a manner, that the army which marched
" up thither could undertake no enterprize of
" conſequence. At the ſame time the enemy
" appeared ſuperior on the Maeſe; ſo that, to
" ſecure the ſtate from diſaſter, the troops were
" obliged to come back from the Moſelle: yet
" ſuch ſucceſs attended them, that, in a little
" time after, the enemy's lines in Brabant were
" forced. In Spain, by means of the new ſuc-
" cours ſent thither, who took Barcelona, the
" face of affairs was happily changed; and on
" the Upper Rhine, the arms of the Allies broke
" thro' the enemies lines about Haguenau, deep
" into Alſace. On the other hand, the enemy
" reduced all Piedmont, the capital (which was
" threatened hard too) and two or three other
" places only excepted.

" Laſtly, To come to the ſucceſſes of the paſt *Campaign of*
" campaign, they have in ſeveral parts (by the 1706.
" goodneſs of God) been very great and advan-
" tageous, beyond all human expectation. In
" Spain, Barcelona was relieved, and the enemy
" forced to draw off, with the loſs of almoſt a
" whole army, and of a conſiderable train of
" artillery, and all manner of ſtores of war.
" This was attended by the ſubmiſſion of the
" entire principality of Catalonia, and of the
" kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon, to King
" Charles III; as alſo of ſeveral maritime places
" in the Mediterranean. In the Netherlands, by

1706 " the glorious battle of Ramillies, and the af-
" fright and confuſion into which it put the ene-
" my, three Spaniſh provinces, and ſeveral great
" and opulent cities and places in them, were
" likewiſe reduced to the obedience of King
" Charles III; and afterwards ſeveral other
" towns, as Oſtend, Menin, Dendermonde, Aeth,
" were, with uncommon vigour and bravery,
" taken in much leſs time than the like was ever
" done before. And in Piedmont, the city of
" Turin was in a moſt wonderful manner nobly
" relieved, and the enemy before it routed, and,
" with great loſs of men, artillery, and ſtores
" of all ſorts, forced to retire out of Italy over
" the mountains into their own country.

Advantages gained by the enemy.

" Yet, tho' ſo great, ſo ſurpriſing, ſo memo-
" rable advantages and victories were obtained,
" affairs in Spain were firſt brought to the utmoſt
" extremity, by the enemies forming the ſiege
" of Barcelona by ſea and land, and puſhing it
" on with ſo great vigour, that had not the ſuc-
" cours ſent thither arrived juſt as they did, the
" place muſt have ſubmitted, to the ruin, it is to
" be feared, of King Charles's cauſe. On the
" Rhine, the enemy, before the German troops
" were out of their quarters and recruited, with
" a conſiderable body of forces raiſed the block-
" ade of fort Louis, and afterwards retook Dru-
" ſenheim and Haguenau, with a great train of
" artillery that was in it; and, in general, reco-
" vered all that was taken from them in thoſe
" parts the preceding year, and even ſtraitened
" Landau. In Lombardy, the enemy gained a
" great advantage over the Allies near Monte-
" chiari, by means whereof they put back their
" operations, and gained time to beſiege Turin,
" and preſs it very hard. From all this, and alſo
" from the affairs of Spain ſeeming at this time
" not to be in ſo proſperous a courſe as they
" were at the opening of this campaign, but to

" require

" require new ſuccours, it evidently appears, that 1706
" altho' the ſucceſſes of this war have hitherto
" been very great and advantageous, yet they
" have always been accompanied with great diffi-
" culties, toil, and hazard, and have not gone
" on in ſuch an uninterrupted train, as might
" well have been hoped, had the arms of the
" Allies been ſuperior to the enemy in all parts;
" and as thoſe advantages could not have been
" obtained, ſo neither can they be purſued, if any
" diminution had been, or ſhould now be made,
" of the force hitherto employed againſt ſo pow-
" erful an enemy."

The troops were in motion on both ſides in 1707
the month of March, to begin the campaign in
the Netherlands. The French cavalry was very *State of the two armies.*
well mounted and numerous, but their infantry
in an indifferent condition; whereas all the troops
of the Allies were compleatly recruited, and made
the fineſt appearance in the world. They were
pretty equal in numbers on both ſides; but the
French being made up of new-raiſed men, chiefly
forced into the ſervice, the Allies ſeemed almoſt
confident of ſucceſs, if they could but engage the
enemy.

The Duke of Marlborough, having been de-
tained ſeveral days at Margate, by contrary winds,
embarked the 13th of April in the evening, de-
ſigning to reach Oſtend; but the wind changing
again, his Grace landed at the Brill the 16th, and *The Duke of Marlborough arrives in Holland.*
the next day arrived at the Hague, to the great
joy of the miniſters of the Allies, who expected
him with the utmoſt impatience. The next day
his Grace received and returned ſeveral viſits, and
on the Sunday following he had a long conference
with the deputies of the States on the affairs of
that juncture. Amongſt other things, he told
them, that it being abſolutely neceſſary to put an
end to the troubles in Saxony, occaſioned by the
preſence of the King of Sweden in that electorate,

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he was reſolved to go thither, and had for that purpoſe the neceſſary powers from the Queen his miſtreſs, and deſired to have the ſame from their High Mightineſſes. The States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland met the Wedneſday following in the morning, when the penſionary having communicated to them the neceſſity of the Duke of Marlborough's journey, they heartily concurred in thoſe meaſures, and his Grace ſet out the ſame evening for Lipſick, by the way of Hanover. His Grace had ſeveral conferences with M. d' Auverquerque, who ſet out the day before his departure for Bruſſels, to aſſemble the Confederate troops in their reſpective rendezvous.

Sets out for Saxony.

Account of his journey.

The Duke made no ſtay at Hanover, but having taken his leave of the electoral court on the 24th in the evening, he ſet out the next morning at four o'clock. His Grace lay that night at Halberſtadt, where he was complimented by the magiſtrates. The 26th in the morning he continued his journey to Hall, where he was met by Mr. Robinſon envoy extraordinary from her Majeſty of Great-Britain, Count Zinzendorf envoy from the Emperor, and M. Cranenberg the Dutch miniſter. After dinner his Grace received the compliments of the magiſtrates, and of the univerſity: then proceeded to Alt-Ranſtadt, accompanied by Mr. Robinſon and M. Cranenberg. He waited privately on Baron Goertz; went directly to Count Piper's quarters; and, after ſome conference with him, came to the quarters the king had ordered to be prepared for him. The 27th in the morning he was complimented upon his arrival by the miniſters and general officers, and about ten o'clock had his firſt audience of the king, which laſted near two hours. After dining with his Majeſty, his Grace had a ſecond audience, at which were Count Piper and M. Hermelin, the two chief miniſters, and Mr. Robinſon. His Grace then ſpent the whole evening in viſits

Has an audience of the King of Sweden.

to

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to Count Piper, and the other miniſters and general officers, and ſeemed perfectly well ſatisfied with his reception. Count Wackerbach, Lieutenant-General of King Auguſtus's forces, and his envoy to the court of Vienna, arrived the ſame afternoon with a compliment from his maſter; intimating, that he would be that night at Lipſick.

Waits on K. Auguſtus.

Upon this notice his Grace went the next morning from Alt-Ranſtadt, to wait on King Auguſtus, with whom he had a private conference of about half an hour, and then returned to Count Piper's quarters, where he dined. In the evening he ſupped with Field-Marſhal Renchild. The 29th his Grace was viſited by Count Piper, Field-Marſhal Renchild, Field-Marſhal Ogilvi, and ſeveral general officers and perſons of quality; and after having dined with Baron Goertz, had his audience of leave of the King of Sweden. Before it was ended, King Staniſlaus came in, and was complimented by his Grace, who ſoon after took his leave, came to Lipſick, and thence, without making any ſtay, proceeded on his journey to Berlin.

Arrives at the court of Berlin.

On the 30th the Duke arrived at Charlottenberg; the King of Pruſſia having ſent M. Grumhow to deſire his Grace would paſs that way. He ſupped that night with the King, and was lodged in an apartment belonging to the Margrave. On Sunday, May the 1ſt, his Grace went to Divine ſervice with the King, who had given particular orders to M. L' Enfant to preach in French on that occaſion. On the 2d, his Grace left Charlottenberg, in order to proceed towards Hanover, where he arrived on the 3d; and the day following, after a private conference, he dined with his Electoral Highneſs. In the afternoon he ſet out for the Hague, and returned thither on the 8th, having all along received the higheſt marks of eſteem and diſtinction in the ſeveral courts through which he paſſed.

1707 paſſed. The 9th in the morning his Grace was complimented upon his return by the foreign miniſters, and other perſons of quality; and in the evening was in conference with the deputies of the States-General. He ſet out the next day for Brabant, in order to draw the troops together, and open the campaign.

His Grace was perfectly well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his negotiations. The aſſurances he had received diſſipated the jealouſies ſome of the Allies had conceived of the deſigns of the Swedes, and ſhewed, that what the French had ſo confidently publiſhed upon that head was a mere forgery. The firſt time the Duke waited on the King of Sweden, he preſented him with a letter from the Queen of Great-Britain, and made him the following compliment: "Sir, I preſent to your "Majeſty a letter, not dictated from the Chancery, "but from the heart of the Queen my miſtreſs, "and written with her own hand. Had not her "ſex prevented it, ſhe would have croſſed the "ſea, to ſee a Prince admired by the whole uni-"verſe. I am in this particular more happy than "the Queen; and I wiſh I could ſerve ſome "campaigns under ſo great a general as your "Majeſty, that I might learn what I yet want to "know in the art of war." ——— This was a very obliging compliment to a young hero, from one of the greateſt generals in the world; who, in a few years, had gained more victories, and taken a greater number of fortreſſes, than the moſt famous warriors of the laſt century.

His ſpeech to the King of Sweden.

To this account, taken from the publick journals, I muſt add that given by M. de Voltaire, not only becauſe he might have the advantage of better information than the writers of that time, but on account of the juſt and elegant character he gives of our hero.

Extract from M. de Voltaire.

"The King of Sweden (ſays he, ſpeaking of "the time we are upon) was then receiving em-

"baſſadors

" baſſadors in his camp at Alt-Ranſtadt, from al- 1707
" moſt all the princes in Chriſtendom. Some de-
" ſired him to quit the dominions of the Empire,
" and others preſſed him to turn his arms againſt
" the Emperor; and it was then a current report,
" that he deſigned to join with France, in depreſ-
" ſing the houſe of Auſtria. Among theſe em-
" baſſadors was the famous John Duke of Marl-
" borough, ſent by Anne Queen of Great-Britain.
" This man, who never laid ſiege to a town *His character of the Duke of Marlborough.*
" which he did not take, nor fought a battle which
" he did not gain, was at St. James's a perfect
" courtier, the head of a party in parliament,
" and in foreign countries the moſt able negotia-
" tor of his time. He did France as much miſ-
" chief by his underſtanding, as by his arms: and
" Fagel, Secretary of the States General, a man
" of very great merit, has been heard to ſay, that
" more than once, when their High Mightineſ-
" ſes had reſolved to oppoſe what the Duke of
" Marlborough was to lay before them, the Duke
" came, ſpoke to them in French, in which lan-
" guage he expreſſed himſelf ill, and brought them
" all into his ſentiments.

" In conjunction with Prince Eugene, the com-
" panion of his victories, and Heinſius, the grand
" penſioner of Holland, he ſupported all the weight
" of the enterpriſes of the Allies againſt France.
" He knew that Charles was exaſperated againſt
" the Empire and the Emperor; that he was ſe-
" cretly ſolicited by the French; and that if this
" conqueror ſhould join himſelf to Lewis XIV,
" the Allies would be undone.

" 'Tis true, Charles had given his word in
" 1700, not to intermeddle in the war of Lewis
" XIV with the Allies. But the Duke of Marl-
" borough did not believe that any prince would
" be ſo great a ſlave to his word, as not to
" ſacrifice it to his grandeur and intereſt. He
" therefore ſet out from the Hague, with a de-

" ſign

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The Duke's manner of applying to the K. of Sweden.

" ſign to ſound the intentions of the King of " Sweden.

" As ſoon as he was arrived at Lipſick, where " Charles then was, he applied himſelf ſecretly, " not to Count Piper, the firſt miniſter, but to " Baron Goertz, who began to ſhare the King's " confidence with Piper. He told Goertz, that " the deſign of the Allies was very ſhortly to pro- " poſe the King of Sweden to be a ſecond time " mediator between them and France. He ſaid " this in hopes of diſcovering, by Goertz's an- " ſwer, the King's intentions, and becauſe he choſe " much rather to have Charles for an arbitrator " than an enemy. At laſt he had his publick au- " dience at Lipſick.

" Upon his firſt addreſs to the King, he told " him in French, that he ſhould think himſelf hap- " py, if he could be taught, under his command, " what he yet wanted to know in the art of war. " He then had a private audience of an hour " long, in which the King ſpoke in German, and " the Duke in French. The Duke, who was " never in haſte to make propoſitions, and had " learned by a long courſe of experience the art " of penetrating into the ſentiments of mankind, " and finding out the ſecret connection between " their inmoſt thoughts and their actions, geſ- " tures and diſcourſe, fixed his eyes attentively " upon the King. When he ſpoke to him of war " in general, he thought he perceived in his Ma- " jeſty a natural averſion towards France, and ob- " ſerved that he was pleaſed when he talked of " the conqueſts of the Allies. He mentioned the " Czar to him, and took notice that his eyes al- " ways kindled at his name, notwithſtanding the " moderation of the conference; and he farther " remarked, that a map of Muſcovy lay before " him on the table. He wanted no more to de- " termine him in his judgment, that the real de- " ſign of the King of Sweden and his ſole ambi-

He penetrates the King's intentions.

" tion

" tion were to dethrone the Czar as he had al- 1707
" ready done the king of Poland. He under-
" ſtood, that he had no other views by continu-
" ing in Saxony, than to impoſe, by that means,
" certain hard laws upon the Emperor of Ger-
" many: but he knew that the Emperor would
" comply with them, and that thus matters would
" be eaſily made up. He left Charles XII to
" his natural inclination; and, being ſatisfied with
" having diſcovered his intentions, he made no
" kind of propoſal.

" As few negotiations, *continues our author*, *Without bribing his miniſters.*
" are concluded without money, and miniſters
" are ſometimes ſeen to ſell the hatred or favour
" of their maſters, it was believed throughout all
" Europe, that the Duke of Marlborough's ſuc-
" ceſs with the King of Sweden was obtained by
" a large ſum of money, opportunely given to
" Count Piper; and the Count is reflected upon
" for it to this day. For my own part, after
" having traced this report to its ſource, I have
" been informed that Piper received a ſmall pre-
" ſent from the Emperor by the hands of Count
" Wratiſlau, with the conſent of the King his
" maſter, and nothing from the Duke of Marl-
" borough."——M. de Voltaire goes on to de-
fend Count Piper's character, with which I have nothing to do; and I inſert this latter part of the extract, only to make one reflection upon it, *viz.* That it is a ſurpriſing inſtance of the Duke of Marlborough's addreſs, perſonal influence, and great knowledge of mankind, if he could dive thus deeply into the ſentiments of the King of Sweden, in the manner M. de Voltaire relates, without having firſt unlocked the hearts of thoſe about him with a golden key.

The Britiſh general arrived at Bruſſels the 13th of May, and having immediately held a council of war with M. d' Auverquerque and the Field-Deputies of the States, orders were ſent to the Confe- *The armies take the field.*

1707 Confederate troops to march to their general rendezvous at Anderlecht near Bruſſels, from whence they marched to Hall a few days after, in order to begin the campaign. The French were drawing together at the ſame time.

The Duke of Marlborough joined the army at Hall on the 21ſt, and the 29th advanced to Joignes. The 27th his Grace, accompanied by ſeveral generals, and eſcorted by 12 ſquadrons, detached himſelf to view the camp of the enemy, who had removed two days before to Goſſeliers, and thence into the plain of Fleurus. A council of war having been held, wherein it was reſolved to march to Nivelles in order to attack the enemy, a detachment was accordingly ſent to view the paſs of Ronquieres, through which they were to paſs. The generals, who were ſent thither, reported that the ſaid paſs was almoſt impracticable; and that the enemy, ſuſpecting the deſigns of the Allies, had made a detachment to ſecure it: hence it was not doubted but they would advance with all their forces upon the firſt motion of the Allies, to hinder them from marching through that way, or elſe would charge the firſt troops that ſhould paſs with ſo much advantage, that it was not proper to offer to run the hazard of ſuch an attempt. That report was conſidered in a council of war, and the generals reflecting that the French had in all likelihood a deſign to march on a ſudden to plunder Louvain and Bruſſels, the Duke of Marlborough reſolved to return towards Bruſſels, to prevent the deſigns of the enemy; which was done with ſo much diligence, that the 29th they paſſed the canal at Diggem, where they reſted the 30th, and marched the 31ſt to Bethlem. They made bridges over the Dyle, which they paſſed the 1ſt of June, and encamped at Meldert, where they continued till the 10th of Auguſt.

The Duke's deſign to attack the enemy fruſtrated

The

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The French ſeeing their deſign diſappointed, advanced to Gemblours, and poſted themſelves very advantageouſly. They had 124 battalions and 143 ſquadrons, and yet did not think fit to venture an engagement with the Allies, who were very much inferior in number. The armies, however, being ſo near, there happened frequent ſkirmiſhes; but as none of them were of great conſequence, I ſhall give no particular account of them, and only obſerve, that the forces of the Allies having beaten the enemies in ſeveral rencounters, this mightily encouraged the Confederate ſoldiers, and made them very deſirous to come to a general engagement.

The French avoid an engagement.

Upon certain advice that the enemy had detached 13 battalions and 12 ſquadrons, the Duke of Marlborough and M. d' Auverquerque reſolved to attack them if poſſible; and to do it with leſs diſadvantage, they reſolved to march to Genap. Orders were given accordingly to lay four bridges on the Dyle, and the troops encamped near Louvain, under Major-General Weck, and the regiment of Bothmar, were ordered to march to Florival, and the battalions in Bruſſels to advance to Waterloo. The heavy baggage being ſent away in the morning, the army decamped the 10th of Auguſt from Meldert, and, having paſſed the Dyle, marched all the night long, and the next morning till ten o'clock, when they encamped at Genap, the right to Promelles, and the left to Davieres. The enemy knew nothing of this march till ſeven in the evening, becauſe the Duke of Wirtemberg, with a great detachment of horſe, was ſent towards their camp to cover the army, and hinder them from getting any intelligence of its motions. The confuſion was very great in their camp, when they were informed of this march: they ſtruck down their tents, and, about eleven at night, marched towards Fleurus and

His Grace endeavours again to attack them.

1707 Heſpeney, arriving the ſame evening at Goſſeliers.

The 12th in the morning the generals received advice, that the French army had made but a ſhort halt at Goſſeliers, and were advanced to Seneff about midnight, the Elector of Bavaria taking his quarters in the caſtle of Vanderbec, and the Duke of Vendome in the farm-houſe of Bel, between Vanderbec and Seneff. The Duke of Marlborough, M. d' Auverquerque, and the deputies of the States having conferred thereupon, it was reſolved to march directly to Nivelle, in order to attack them; and accordingly the army marched about one in the afternoon, and came into that camp the ſame evening, the left extending to the river Senne at Arquennes, and the right to Valianpont. As they came in their march upon the hills of Arquennes, they diſcovered the enemies extended in their camp aforeſaid, at about a league diſtant. They came too late into their own camp to attack them that night; but the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for doing it the next morning; and becauſe it was foreſeen, that the enemy would endeavour to retire in the night, to gain the camp of Cambron, all poſſible care was taken to prevent their retreat. The Count de Tilly, with 40 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, and a detachment of 5 or 6000 grenadiers, were ordered to poſt themſelves between the two armies, their left to Corneliz, and their right towards the road from Bink to Nivelles, which was as near the enemy as it was poſſible to get.

Comes up with them, and endeavours to prevent their retreat.

Count Tilly was ordered to obſerve the enemy, and, in caſe they decamped, to fall upon their rear and amuſe them, till the army could come up to attack them. Thoſe troops ſet out immediately; but it was near midnight before they were in their reſpective poſts, notwithſtanding the ſoldiers marched with all imaginable zeal and alacrity. The French, who foreſaw the deſign of the Duke of

of Marlborough, judged that it would be impoſſible for them to avoid an engagement, if they continued in that camp till the next day; and therefore they reſolved to decamp in the night. They made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for it about ſeven o'clock, at the time the Confederates were coming into their camp, and about nine their left began to retire towards Marimont, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet. 1707

They decamp in the night.

The 13th, a little before break of day, Count Tilly advanced with his detachment directly to the camp of the enemy, ſaw their army on a full march, obſerved that they made their retreat in very good order from hedge to hedge, and that the country being very difficult, it was ſcarce poſſible to come at them. He ſent notice thereof to the Duke of Marlborough, and that he was marching to endeavour to attack their rear, as he was directed: whereupon 20 battalions and 30 ſquadrons, under the command of General Count Lottum, were detached to ſupport Count Tilly. Count Tilly marched with all poſſible ſpeed, and had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with their rear; but having purſued them three or four hours, as far as the plains of Marimont, and obſerving that it was to no purpoſe to fatigue the troops, he returned to the camp. The country being cut by many deep roads, was very favourable to the retreat of the enemy, who poſted therein ſome infantry, which hindered the Confederate horſe from making any openings to follow them.

Count Tilly purſues them.

The Duke of Marlborough, who was advanced with a detachment, being returned to the camp, reſolved to continue that day in the ſame place, to give time to the troops to reſt themſelves, after the fatiguing marches they had made; and becauſe it was uncertain whether the enemies marched towards their lines or Cambron, the Field-Marſhal d' Auverquerque ſent one of his Aids-de-Camp, with 150 huſſars, to poſt himſelf

His Grace finds it in vain to harraſs the troops, and deſiſts.

1707 on the hills of the Great Roulx, from whence they plainly diſcovered the march of their army, being about half a league from them. That officer reported, that their van-guard was advanced to St. Dennis, having the Haine behind them. The ſpies confirmed this intelligence, and reported farther, that the Elector had his quarters at St. Dennis, and the Duke of Vendome at Caſtlau. The generals concluded from this march, that the enemy did not deſign to retire within their lines, but rather to poſſeſs the camp of Cambron, which was inacceſſible on that ſide.

He encamps at Soignies.

The 14th the Allies decamped about ſix in the morning, and had all the day a moſt violent rain, which rendered the roads ſo bad, that it was very late when the right came to Soignies, and all the left could not come up till the next morning, notwithſtanding that 1000 pioneers had been at work ever ſince the 12th at night, to repair the roads from Arquennes to Soignies. The ſoldiers ſuffered very much in this march, but the French ſuffered a great deal more; for having reſted but ſome few hours at St. Dennis, they marched the 14th, before break of day, towards Chievres, where they encamped without any tents or other baggage, and were above two days without bread. They loſt a world of men by deſertion, and above 1000 of them came over to the Confederates.

The weather at this time continuing very bad, it was not thought fit to expoſe the ſoldiers to the inconveniences of a march, till the rain was over. The 16th the baggage and artillery came up, tho' with great difficulty, and the roads were ſo deep, that the army would have had much ado to ſubſiſt, had it not been for the conveniency of the cauſey of Bruſſels, by which they received their convoys. The enemy continued encamped between Lens and Chievres, and the Elector took up his

quarters

quarters in the caſtle of the latter place, upon the earneſt requeſt of the monks of Cambron, who deſired his highneſs to exempt them from that trouble. In a word, not to detain the reader with a narrative of every ineffectual motion, nothing more can be ſaid of this campaign, than that his Grace hunted the French from place to place, in order to force them to a battle, till at laſt, reſolved not to fight, they retired behind their lines under the cannon of Liſle, and the Duke encamped at Helchin, ſubſiſting his troops upon the territories of the enemy. 1707

The Duke arrives at the Hague.

His Grace arrived at the Hague the 5th of October, and immediately after his arrival made a viſit to the Grand Penſionary, and M. Slingeland, ſecretary of the council of ſtate. He had afterwards a conference with the deputies of the States-General, wherein he communicated the orders he had received from the Queen his Miſtreſs, to repair to Francfort, and confer with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover, about the operations of the next campaign. Several important points were debated in theſe conferences, but there was no propoſal made for any augmentation of troops, notwithſtanding it was believed that was one of the chief ſubjects of his Grace's journey.

His Grace ſet out the 7th for the army in the Netherlands, which decamped the 11th from Helchin; and after having marched through very difficult roads, came to Aſch, where they ſeparated, and marched into winter-quarters, which were much the ſame as the foregoing year. His Grace left the army the 15th, and ſet out for Germany, accompanied by M. de Geldermalſen, who was to aſſiſt in the conferences with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover, on the part of the States-General. The French army likewiſe ſeparated about the ſame time, and the Elector of Bavaria repaired to Mons.

Sets out for Germany.

1707

The Elector of Mentz arrived at Francfort the 19th of October, as did, the next day, the Elector of Hanover, attended by ſeveral generals. The Duke of Marlborough, having been detained a day longer than he thought on the road, becauſe of a conference he had with the Elector Palatine, could not arrive till the 21ſt. They had ſeveral conferences together; but nothing could be concluded till the arrival of Count Wratiſlau from Vienna. That nobleman, who at firſt had declined to accept the commiſſion he came with, at laſt was obliged to execute it, and he arrived at Francfort the 27th. This delay made people hope, that his poſitive inſtructions would make amends for the time loſt; but they were deceived. The Count declared that he was not fully inſtructed; and the Electors of Mentz and Hanover, with the Duke of Marlborough, ſet out the 29th from Francfort; the firſt for his reſidence, the ſecond for the army, and the latter for the Hague, whither he was accompanied by Count Wratiſlau. Thoſe Princes ſettled ſeveral points in relation to the next campaign, but none of the miniſters of the States-General aſſiſted therein. The Count de Rechteren, who was come from Vienna on purpoſe, found himſelf indiſpoſed before he could reach Francfort.

Arrives at Francfort and confers with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague the 5th of November, and, having concluded ſeveral important affairs with the States-General, embarked a few days after for England. His Grace having communicated to the States-General what paſſed in the conferences held at Francfort, and their deputies having had ſeveral conferences with the miniſters of the Emperor, their High Mightineſſes reſolved to uſe all poſſible means to engage the Empire to make greater efforts for the future than they had done before; and in order thereto they wrote a preſſing letter to the Diet of Ratiſbon. I ſhall not at the end of this barren campaign detain the reader with any repetition, but

Comes to England.

1707

but inſtead thereof tranſcribe that part of the Dutch council of war's petition, which ſets forth the cauſes and accidents, whereby the ſeries of the Confederates ſucceſs had been ſometimes interrupted. The next campaign will afford more matter for recapitulation, when I ſhall introduce what is material concerning this.

The council, after having ſummed up the advantages obtained in the war, proceed thus;——

Reaſons of the Allies want of ſucceſs.

" However, high and Mighty Lords, notwithſtanding theſe great and important advantages, " the affairs are not yet brought to that paſs and " ballance, that may ſecure the ſafety and tranquillity of your High Mightineſſes and your " allies. The great power of the enemies you " had to wreſtle with, and eſpecially that of the " French, who, tho' ſeveral times glorioufly defeated, and eſpecially at Schellenberg, Hockſtedt, Ramillies and Turin, have yet found means " every time to riſe, and have ſo far improved the " defeats they had received, as to make them an " encouragement for greater efforts; that very " power has now and then ſtopt the proſecution " of the advantage obtained, and the rapidity of " victories. To this ſtop have likewiſe ſometimes contributed the diſorder, dilatorineſs, " ſlowneſs, and the want of being ready in a due " time, of ſome of the Allies, and their want " of good intelligence of the motions and deſigns of the enemy: and it were to be wiſhed " that in the courſe of this war there ſhould not " be found by experience, what has been formerly obſerved; namely, that great hopes and " great ſucceſſes do not always go together, and " that proſperity, which gives birth to ſuch " hopes, commonly brings along with it, at the " ſame time, a wrong and groundleſs opinion of " the weakneſs and declenſion of the enemy, " and conſequently produces ſupineneſs and negligence.

Beſides

1707

" Beſides all this, the advantage of the ground, " the natural ſtrength of the rivers, and canals " in the countries where the war was to be car- " ried on; the number, ſituation, and extent of " the fortified places to be attacked; the back- " wardneſs of the ſeaſons, and unſeaſonableneſs " of the weather, and even ſome inconſiderable " accidents, may alſo retard and ſtop the pro- " ſecution of advantages obtained. 'Tis to theſe " reaſons, or at leaſt to ſome of them, that we " may attribute, that campaigns which have fol- " lowed thoſe wherein were gained great ad- " vantages, have not been ſo favourable; that " the campaign next after the victories of Schel- " lenberg and Hochſtedt, and which ſeemed to " promiſe no leſs than the conqueſt of Saar Louis " and Thionville, and even of Metz, and other " places in the heart of France, had not ſucceſs " anſwerable to thoſe promiſes and expectations: " That in the Netherlands, where the enemies, " by many precautions, have endeavoured to pre- " ſerve their towns and fortreſſes, the laſt cam- " paign has not been ſo ſucceſsful as the former: " and that the expedition into Provence, and the " * intended conqueſt of Toulon and Marſeilles " have had no other effect than the devaſtation of " part of that province, the bombardment of " Toulon, and the deſtroying of ſome men of " war and Magazines."

* *For this expedition ſee the Hiſtory of Pr. Eugene.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK V.

Containing the Tranſactions of the year 1708.

1708

THE French were very buſy during the winter, and made unuſual motions, which no-body could at firſt penetrate the meaning of. But if the French made great preparations on their frontiers, thoſe of the Allies in the Netherlands were no leſs conſiderable, tho' they did not make ſo much noiſe. Their troops were recruiting with all imaginable ſpeed, and the officers were ordered to exerciſe their new ſoldiers with great care. They provided large Magazines, and gave room for certain prediction, that the Netherlands

Great preparations on both ſides.

1708

lands would be a ſcene of great action the next Campaign.

The deſigns of France againſt Scotland.

At laſt, in the month of February, the great deſigns of the French court broke out, and it was every where known, that their preparations at Dunkirk were deſigned againſt Great-Britain, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales. I muſt digreſs from the hiſtory of the grand war, to give ſome account of this expedition, which for a ſhort time held all Europe in ſuſpenſe.

The French King, not being able to digeſt the Affair of Toulon, reſolved to make an effort to carry the war into Great-Britain; and, believing that the Scots were diſſatisfied upon account of the Union, he flattered himſelf with the hopes, that they would declare for the Pretender, upon his arrival in Scotland. This being concluded upon, the neceſſary preparations for the expedition of that prince were carried on with all imaginable ſpeed and ſecrecy; and the deſign thereof was rather gueſſed at than known, till the Pretender ſet out from St. Germains. This he did the 7th of that month, after having had ſeveral conferences with the Moſt Chriſtian King, and taken his leave of him in form. He was accompanied by the Earl of Middleton, and ſome other Lords of his court.

About the ſame time the treaſurer reſiding at Liſle receiv'd 54,000 Louis d' Or for the uſe of the fleet, and 200 Iriſh officers arrived at Arras in their way to Dunkirk, where they were to go on board: while Major-General Cadogan concerted with M. d' Auverquerque the march of a detachment of Britiſh forces out of Brabant, and how to ſupply their room in their ſeveral garriſons. General Lumley ſent orders accordingly to ten battalions, to hold themſelves in a readineſs to march at an hour's warning, to be embarked at Oſtend. There were already 3 Iriſh battalions, and 12 French, embarked or ready to embark; all

1708

all commanded by the count de Gace, the Marquis de Vibray, the Marquis de Ruffe, the Marquis de Levy, and M. Dillon, Lieutenant-Generals.

Encouragement given to the officers in the intended expedition.

The Sieur de Monroy, Colonel of the regiment of Luxenburg, and the Marquis of Montandre, Colonel of the regiment of Bearn, were made brigadiers; and to encourage the other colonels, they were promiſed to be promoted to the like degree, and that all the ſubaltern officers ſhould be likewiſe promoted. Each colonel received 1500 livres by way of gratuity, the lieutenant-colonels and majors 900, and the captains 600. M. Dandreſelle was made Super-intendant of the troops deſigned for this expedition: The ſquadron which was to convoy them was entruſted to the count de Forbin; but the number of ſhips was at firſt variouſly reported.

Voluntiers engage in it.

It was ſaid that 700 officers, and a great many voluntiers, accompanied the titular Monarch in this expedition, for which they remitted 8 millions of livres in ſpecie to Dunkirk, beſides a great ſum of money which the late Queen of England borrowed upon her jewels or otherwiſe. They made a great noiſe there of the ſtrong party their prince had in Scotland, and cauſed a manifeſto to be printed, in order to have it diſperſed upon his landing, whereby he promiſed the Scots all the aſſurances they could deſire for the ſecurity of their religion and liberties. The court of the Elector of Bavaria expreſſed a great deal of joy upon this intended expedition; and his Electoral Highneſs diſpatched a gentleman to compliment the Chevalier de St. George (for that was the name he was to go by till he aſcended the throne of Scotland) upon his arrival at Dunkirk, and wiſh him good ſucceſs in his enterpriſe. The titular Monarch arrived at Dunkirk the 9th of February; but there happened an accident in his way, which, tho' common enough to travellers, occaſioned a great conſternation amongſt ſome of

1708

The pretender discouraged by the breaking of his chaise.

of his superstitious followers, being looked upon as a bad omen. His chaise, or calash, broke within some leagues of Dunkirk, and he was obliged to take horse and ride post; whereby he found himself much fatigued, and somewhat indisposed upon his arrival. His party gave out, that when the Most Christian King bid adieu to this pretended Prince, he presented him with a sword enriched with diamonds, valued at 50,000 livres, and desired him always to remember that it was a French sword. To which the Chevalier answered, "That if it was his good fortune "to get possession of the throne of his ancestors, "he would not content himself with returning "thanks to his Majesty by letters and ambas-"sadors, but would shew his gratitude by effects."

After all this great bustle, on the 12th of March the King of France received advice, that they had been obliged to land the troops that were embarked, upon account of the indisposition of the Chevalier. His physician, it seems, had declared, that he could not consent to his imbarkation, looking upon it as very dangerous for his life, because he had the measles, attended with an ague. The 14th, the Most Christian King observing that the court appeared in a sort of consternation upon this accident, declared, that he had sent orders to count Forbin to put to sea without any further delay, upon any pretence whatsoever; and that he was very well informed, that the Chevalier was not so ill as his physician represented. Soon after they continued their preparations, and the wind turning fair for them the 17th, they laid hold of that opportunity, and sailed from the road of Dunkirk: but the wind changing about midnight, they were obliged to come to an anchor in Newport-pits. A vessel sailed from Ostend, with letters from Sir George Bing, who then lay with a strong English fleet off

He falls sick of the maisles

of

of Gravelines, to give him notice thereof; and, in the mean time, all things were preparing for the embarkation of the Britiſh forces. On the 20th of March the French fleet ſailed from the pits of Newport, about 2 in the morning, with a fair gale, ſteering for Scotland. And now the French were ſo confident that their expedition could not miſcarry, that they publickly boaſted at court, *That God alone could diſappoint their deſign.* Some accounts added, that when the Moſt Chriſtian King took his leave of the Pretender at St. Germains, he ſaid, *I wiſh you a good ſucceſs, and hope I ſhall never ſee you again.*

1708

The French fleet ſails.

The preparation of the French at Dunkirk gave ſome uneaſineſs to the States, and eſpecially to the Province of Zealand, which ſeemed threaten'd with an invaſion: but ſuch precautions were timely taken for the ſecurity of thoſe iſlands, that the French would have found it impoſſible to attack them with any ſucceſs. Their territories being thus ſecured, their High Mightineſſes concerted with the Britiſh miniſters, the neceſſary meaſures for preventing the deſigns of the enemy againſt Great-Britain; and the zeal they expreſſed on this occaſion was ſo very great, that they received thanks for it from her Britannick Majeſty.

The States alarmed.

But prepare to aſſiſt Qu. Anne.

We muſt now leave the two fleets a little to themſelves, to take notice of what paſſed in the mean time at London, where Mr. Secretary Boyle acquainted the Houſe of Commons, on the 4th of March, That her Majeſty had commanded him to lay before that Houſe ſeveral advices, received the laſt night and that morning, of great preparations at Dunkirk for an immediate invaſion upon England by the French, and of the pretended Prince of Wales being come to Dunkirk for that purpoſe. Upon which the Lords and Commons preſented to her Majeſty an addreſs, wherein they return'd their moſt hearty thanks to her Majeſty,

The deſign of the French communicated to the Britiſh parliament.

Addreſs of both Houſes to the Queen.

1708 ‘ for being graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to
‘ them the intelligence ſhe had received of an
‘ intended invaſion of this kingdom, by the pre-
‘ tended Prince of Wales, ſupported by a French
‘ power.

“ We are ſo ſenſible (ſay they) of the happi-
“ neſs we enjoy under your Majeſty, and are ſo
“ affected with the dangerous conſequences of
“ ſuch an attempt, both to your perſon and go-
“ vernment, that, with hearts full of concern
“ for your Majeſty's ſafety, we beſeech your Ma-
“ jeſty, that you will be pleaſed to take particu-
“ lar care of your royal perſon: and we, on our
“ parts, are fully and unanimouſly reſolved to
“ ſtand by and aſſiſt your Majeſty with our lives
“ and fortunes, in maintenance of your undoubted
“ right and title to the crown of theſe realms,
“ againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and
“ all other your enemies, both at home and
“ abroad.

“ The care your Majeſty has taken for the
“ defence of your dominions, and particularly in
“ fitting out ſo great a fleet in ſo ſhort a time,
“ gives ſatisfaction and encouragement to all your
“ good ſubjects, who are likewiſe very ſenſible of
“ the zeal the States-General have ſhewn upon
“ this occaſion.

“ As a farther inſtance of our duty, we hum-
“ bly deſire, that you would be pleaſed to order
“ that the laws againſt papiſts and nonjurors be
“ put in execution; and that directions be given
“ to ſeize and ſecure ſuch perſons, with their
“ horſes and arms, as your Majeſty ſhall have
“ cauſe to ſuſpect are diſaffected to your perſon
“ or government.

“ And as we doubt not but (by the bleſſing of
“ God upon the continuance of your Majeſty's
“ care) your enemies will be put to confuſion;
“ ſo we readily embrace this opportunity, to ſhew
“ to your Majeſty and the whole world, that no

“ attempts

" attempts of this kind ſhall deter us from ſup- 1708
" porting your Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution
" of the preſent war againſt France, till the mo-
" narchy of Spain be reſtored to the houſe of
" Auſtria, and your Majeſty have the glory to
" compleat the recovery of the liberties of Eu-
" rope."—To which addreſs her Majeſty return-
ed a ſuitable anſwer.

The 11th of March the Queen went to the Houſe of Peers, and paſſed ſeveral acts; and afterwards made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe acquainted them, " That ſhe had received ad- *Queen's ſpeech upon*
" vices that morning from Oſtend, that the French *the Preten-*
" fleet ſailed from Dunkirk on Tueſday, at three *der's ſailing.*
" in the morning, northward, with the Preten-
" der on board; as alſo that Sir George Bing had
" notice of it the ſame day at ten: and he being
" very much ſuperior to the enemy, both in num-
" ber and ſtrength, her Majeſty made no queſtion
" but (by God's bleſſing) he would ſoon be able
" to give a good account of them." The Queen added, " That ſhe had alſo advice, that 10 bat-
" talions of her troops were embarked at Oſtend,
" ready to ſail with their convoy, as there ſhould
" be occaſion; and that ſhe ſhould continue to
" take all proper meaſures for diſappointing the
" enemy's deſigns."

The Lords and Commons, in return, preſented to her Majeſty their ſeveral addreſſes; which I ſhall not here inſert, nor any other pieces of that nature, the above being ſufficient to ſhew the unanimity of the Queen and parliament at that time, and the folly of the French attempt againſt a Britiſh government thus happily cemented.

While this paſſed at London, ſome perſons, ap- *The Scots appoint a faſt.*
pointed by the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, appeared before the council, and preſented the requeſt of the commiſſion, that there might be a day of general faſt and humiliation to God,

1708

to implore his mercy, and avert or defeat the threatened invaſion; together with an act they had formed thereupon, to which they craved the civil ſanction; and the Lords of Privy-council agreed thereto.

Account of the French fleet from Sir George Bing.

On the 16th an expreſs arrived at London from Sir George Bing, with letters dated the 13th, from on board the Medway, off of the Frith of Edinburgh, importing, that the fleet under his command anchored the night before off of that Frith, and ſaw the 13th, in the morning, the French fleet in the mouth of the Frith, where they came likewiſe the 12th. They weighed the 13th in the morning, upon the appearance of the Britiſh fleet, and ſtood off from them, and Sir George made all the ſail he could after them. The fleets were within two or three leagues of each other. Sir George ſent a boat to the Iſle of May, from whence he had an account, that the enemy ſent a ſhip the 12th up into Leith road, with a blue flag at the main-top-maſt-head, and that they heard ſeveral guns fire, in the manner of a ſalute, as they thought; and the ſhip came down again the next morning, and was ſeen within two leagues off of the Engliſh fleet, but without a flag.

From Dunbar.

About the ſame time arrived letters from Dunbar, which imported, that the 12th, about noon, a frigate of 26 guns paſſed by that place, and ſtood into the Frith, to view the ſhips in Leith road. About four, another frigate of 24 guns appeared off of Dunbar, and ſeemed to cruize about the road, as if ſhe waited for ſome intelligence from the ſhore. About ſix in the evening, they ſaw a great many ſhips right off the place, one of which had a white flag on her top-maſt-head: whereupon the militia ſtood to their arms on the ſhore, and the dragoons, who lay there, kept patroles all the night, to prevent any deſcent; but the enemy did not attempt it. They made

made ſeveral ſignals; and one Mr. Hepburn, formerly a ſervant to the late Lord Dundee, being very ſolicitous to go on board that fleet, which he pretended was come from London, was ſeized priſoner, and carried away by the dragoons. 1708

From the Earl of Leven.

The 17th an expreſs arrived from the Earl of Leven, general of the forces in Scotland, and governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, with letters dated the 13th, late at night, which confirmed, that the Britiſh and French fleets were ſeen off of the mouth of the Frith, and ſo near one another, that they appeared to be but the ſame fleet. The ſaid Lord Leven received that night a letter from a gentleman of note in Fife, importing, that that day, at four o'clock, they heard a canonading at ſea, which made them believe that the two fleets were engaged. The French, it ſeems, over-ſhot the place where they intended to go; for they were ſeen off of Montroſs, before they appeared in the Frith of Edinburgh.

The 15th a fleet appeared off of the mouth of the Frith, ſtanding in for the ſame: whereupon the Earl of Leven drew up all the ſtanding forces in Edinburgh, and part of the militia, and marched to Leith, to oppoſe any deſcent, in caſe thoſe ſhips proved to be the French fleet. His Lordſhip being arrived there, there came on ſhore an officer from Sir George Bing, by whom his Lordſhip was informed, that the Britiſh fleet having chaſed the enemy from Saturday morning till the afternoon, ſome of the Britiſh ſhips came up with the French, and began an engagement; but the enemy being unwilling to run any hazard, made all the ſail they could to get away, and ſo made their eſcape.

Sir George Bing chaſes the French.

The Leopard, one of her Majeſty's ſhips, Captain Gordon commander, came up with the Saliſbury, a French ſhip of 52 guns, which ſtruck to the Leopard, and ſurrendered. There

The Saliſbury taken.

1708 were 700 ſoldiers on board, and a French lieutenant-general; beſides ſeveral Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh gentlemen; and amongſt others the Lord Griffin, and two ſons of the Earl of Middleton.

The French pretended, that the Count de Forbin had reſolved to land his forces, ſeamen, artillery, and ammunition; to burn his ſhips, and fortify a poſt: but the council of the Pretender did not think fit to expoſe his perſon; and ſeeing that the Scots did not anſwer the ſignals agreed upon, out of fear of the Engliſh fleet, or infidelity, as they called it, they reſolved to return home. They gave out, that the Chevalier was furniſhed with very fine tents, and a great deal of gold, ſilver-gilt, and ſilver plate, of an exquiſite workmanſhip; with clothes for his life-guards, liveries for his houſhold, and other neceſſaries.

I ſhall here add to theſe pieces extracts of two letters more, one from on board the Medway, the other from an officer concerned in the expedition; leaving moſt of the reflections on it to be made at the end of the year, that I may not too long detain the reader from the immediate ſubject of this hiſtory, the atchievements of the Duke of Marlborough. The firſt letter is dated March the 15th. "We chaſed the enemy (ſays "the writer) to the Northward of Buccaneſs, ſome-"times with reaſonable hopes of coming up with "them. The Dover and Ludlow-Caſtle being "the only clean-ſailing ſhips we had, they were "the firſt which came up with the enemy's ſqua-"dron, paſſing by ſome of the ſmaller to engage "ſome of the larger ſhips, and ſtop them till "they could be relieved. They attacked two "or three of their ſhips, among which was the "Saliſbury: they did not part with them till "more of our ſhips arrived, but worked their "ſhips in a handſome manner, to cut them off from

A letter from on board Sir George Byng's ſhip.

1708

" from the reſt of the fleet; but, in the dark-
" neſs of the night, they all got out of ſight,
" except the Saliſbury, who falling in amongſt our
" head-moſt ſhips, the Leopard entered men on
" board her. We were informed by the officers
" who were taken, that there were 12 battalions
" on board their ſquadron. The number and
" ſtrength of their ſhips * are very near the ac-
" count we lately received from Dunkirk, nor
" were they joined by the Breſt men of war;
" and they further aſſure us, that the ſhips our
" out-ſcouts ſaw off of Calais were pivateers and
" their prizes going into Dunkirk.

The Admiral, ſeeing no likelihood of coming up again with the enemy, took ſtation in the Frith of Edinburgh, and continued there till he was informed of the return of the enemy to Dunkirk, wiſely foreſeeing, that notwithſtanding the reports they had ſpread of their ſtrong party in the North of Scotland, their true deſign was upon the capital city. This and ſome other curious particulars are confirmed in the other extract, from a letter written by an Iriſh or Scots officer, who, being in the intereſt of the Pretender, deſerves the more to be credited in ſeveral particulars. It is dated at Dunkirk, April 12, N. S.

This gentleman informs his friend, "That on the 9th their Prince arrived at Dunkirk again, and that they were all in ſo miſerable a condition, that the ſoldiers, when they crept aſhore, looked more like rats than men. The Prince ſuffered much in his health, and, what with fatigue and chagrin, looked very thin; but, to put a good face on the matter, he dreſſed himſelf in a fine embroidered ſute, and a blue feather in his hat, when.

* About 32 ſhips, moſt of them ſmall. Sir George Bing's fleet, according to a liſt ſent to General Cadogan conſiſted of 40 ſhips of the line, and 116 frigates.

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when he went aſhore, where he was received by abundance of ladies in their coaches, with looks that very much reſembled an Engliſh funeral. When he went off, the noiſe was all over, *Long live the King*; but at his return, ſhrugging of ſhoulders and ſhaking of heads gave a diſmal welcome.

I need not tell you (he continues) that the foundation of our whole deſign was the caſtle of Edinburgh; which miſcarrying, by the arrival of the Engliſh fleet, the Prince's council did not think fit to land any where elſe. The plan of this caſtle was laid before a council of general officers at Verſailles; and it was unanimouſly concluded, that, with the troops, mortars, and bombs, which we carried, it could not hold out above three days. We deſigned to have made a falſe attack at the Poſtern-Gate, while three battalions ſhould enter the out-works that front the city, and lodge under their half-moon, which would oblige them the next day to ſurrender. By the taking of this caſtle, we ſhould have had the Regalia; and, I am told, two Proteſtant Archbiſhops would have crowned our Prince in the high church. The equivalent from England, being alſo in this caſtle, would have been a great ſupply to us for raiſing men; we having above 400 officers with us for that purpoſe, all pretty fellows, that have ſerved in the wars of Italy and Spain; and above 100 cheſts of money."

The folly of this expedition.

Thus ended, to the diſgrace of the French, an expedition which had alarmed the Confederacy: for they could not fancy, that the French court would ſo far expoſe their reputation, as to notify an enterpriſe of this nature to foreign Princes, as if it could not miſcarry, unleſs they had certain aſſurances, that the whole kingdom of Scotland was for the Pretender. This was doubtleſs their opinion; for otherwiſe they would never have credited the impertinent report of the Chevalier de Rambure,

de Rambure, who declared, in a letter publiſhed in the Paris Gazette, that there were not 1500 men in the whole kingdom of Scotland againſt the Pretender. 1708

Major-General Cadogan, having cauſed 11 Britiſh battalions to embark for Great-Britain, thoſe troops arrived at Tinmouth, under convoy of Rear-Admiral Baker; but they were a few days after ordered back for Flanders, and ſome of the troops that were marching from England for Scotland were ordered to be ſhipped off for the ſame ſervice. *The troops ſent from Flanders return thither.*

This deſign of the enemy proved advantageous to the Allies, quickened their reſolutions, and convinced them more and more of the neceſſity of humbling the exorbitant power of France. On the other hand, it afforded an opportunity to the government to diſtinguiſh, thro' the various pretences of men, thoſe who were truly loyal to her Majeſty, and faithful to the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, from ſome others who talked as much of Proteſtantiſm, and yet were for a Popiſh Pretender. The people of Great-Britain appeared unanimous againſt the enemy, and there was no riſing in Scotland, as had been expected. The government indeed took care to prevent it, and ſecured ſeveral perſons, whoſe conduct had given room for ſuſpicion. The Pope, who was deeply concerned in this expedition, loſt his money to no purpoſe; and the expoſition of the Sacrament for forty hours in the churches of the Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh at Rome, for imploring God's aſſiſtance on the enterpriſe of the Pretender, ſerved only to ſhew the foppery of that idle ſuperſtition. *This alarm advantageous to the Allies.*

Prince Eugene, who was to ſerve this year in the Netherlands, having ſignified to the Duke of Marlborough the time of his departure for the Hague, his Grace embarked as ſoon as he had certain advice that the enemy was returned to Dunkirk, *Pr. Eugene and the D. of Marlborough arrive at the Hague.*

1708 kirk, and arrived at the Hague three days after his Serene Highneſs. They continued every day in conference with the penſionary and the deputies of the States, to concert the operations of war, which were all kept with the utmoſt ſecrecy. Theſe conferences made the French very uneaſy, and the precautions they took to ſecure their frontiers on the ſide of the Moſelle were a plain indication that they were afraid of being attacked that way.

The two Confederate generals having finiſhed their negotiations at the Hague, Prince Eugene ſet out the 20th of April for Duſſeldorp, where he arrived the 22d, and was received with the reſpect due to his birth and merit. He had immediately after his arrival a conference with the Elector Palatine, and finiſhed his negotiations the next day; ſo that after having diſpatched an expreſs for Vienna, his Highneſs ſet out the 24th for Hanover. The Duke of Marlborough departed from the Hague the 22d: and theſe Princes had ſo well concerted their meaſures, that on the 26th they met within two leagues of Hanover, and arrived there together. They alighted at the Britiſh envoy's, and his Grace went a few minutes after to court, and had audience of the Elector. Prince Eugene did the ſame ſome time after; and the ceremonial of the audiences of the Electoral family being over, they had the ſame evening a long conference with the Elector, who would not ſuffer them to lodge any where elſe than in the palace. They continued their conferences the 27th and 28th, wherein they concerted every thing for the campaign. The 29th Prince Eugene ſet out for Lipſick, to confer with King Auguſtus, who was come thither on purpoſe from Dreſden the 27th. His Highneſs arrived there the 1ſt of May, and having finiſhed his negotiations, ſet out the next day for Vienna. He concluded a treaty with King Auguſtus

They go to Hanover.

guſtus for a body of his forces, and removed the difficulties which had obſtructed the negotiations of the envoys of the Electors of Mentz and Brunſwick. 1708

The Duke returns, and puts himſelf at the head of the army.

The Duke of Marlborough made but a ſhort ſtay at Hanover after Prince Eugene; for his Grace ſet out the 30th of April, and arrived at the Hague the 3d of May. His Grace communicated to the States the reſolutions taken at Hanover; and having concerted ſome farther meaſures for the opening of the campaign, ſet out the 7th for Ghent, where having reviewed the Britiſh forces, he departed for Bruſſels, and arrived there the 11th, being every where received with all poſſible marks of reſpect. Having conferred with M. d' Auverquerque, his Grace gave orders for the troops to march the 20th to Anderlecht near Bruſſels.

The French talk of peace.

The French talked of peace this year, as they uſed to do at the opening of every campaign; and their agents were buſy every where to ſow miſtruſt amongſt the Allies. Holland being a free country, where all people reſort, it was there chiefly that theſe emiſſaries were at work, and diſcovered themſelves more openly than in other parts. They magnified the forces of the French King, the impoſſibility of driving King Philip out of Spain, and at the ſame time extolled to the ſkies the ſincere deſire of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for peace. All this had no other effect on the Allies, who knew the inſincerity of Lewis XIV, than to make them more vigorous in the proſecution of the war. The Dutch troops, the Pruſſians, and the Hanoverians, began to form the army the 23d, between Anderlecht and Gaeſbech, from whence they marched the 26th to Billinghen, where his Grace took up his quarters. The Britiſh troops, and others from Flanders, joined there the army. The Duke of Vendome, being informed of theſe motions, began to form his

The armies form and encamp near each other.

1708 his army the 25th, and the next day encamped at Soignies, where the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Berry, and the Chevalier de St. George, joined them. The 29th, the Confederate army made a motion, and marched the right to Herfelingen, and the left to Hall and Tuliſe, the head quarters being at St. Renello. This brought the two armies pretty near, and gave hopes of a ſudden engagement; but the expectations of the Allies were fruſtrated for that time.

On the 31, the Duke received advice, that the enemy had ſent for their heavy baggage; that it was actually returned to their camp, and that they had foraged for two days; from whence it was conjectured, that they did not intend to march the next day, as ſome deſerters had reported. The generals reſolved thereupon to ſend the army to forage next morning, and the foragers went out accordingly before break of day: but, an hour after, advice came, that the enemy had ſent back their baggage to Mons, and decamped about 11 without any noiſe, marching towards Nievelle. His Grace's foragers were immediately recalled with the ſignal of three guns; and, that no time might be loſt, the infantry marched firſt of all about noon from St. Renello, and were followed by the cavalry. About four they formed 4 columns, intending to encamp the right towards Anderlecht, and the left to Lake: but upon advice that the enemy had not encamped at Nivelle, but had continued their march by Bois Signeur Iſaac to Brain la Lieu, his Grace judged that they could not have any other deſign than to poſt themſelves on the banks of the Dyle, to hinder him from paſſing that river, and ſeize Louvain; which was the very ſame project that the Duke of Vendome had framed the preceding year: whereupon his Grace thought fit likewiſe to continue his march all the night long, as the only means to prevent the enemy.

The French retire in the night.

June

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June the 3d, in the afternoon, the Allies arrived in the camp at Terbank, very much fatigued by the long march they had made, and the continual rains for 24 hours together. The French, having notice of this expeditious march, did not think fit to advance farther than Genap, and encamped with their right to that place, and their left to Brain la Lieu. The regiment of dragoons of Walef, coming from Aeth, joined the Confederate army, which was likewiſe reinforced with a battalion of Elz from Leau. The Duke of Marlborough took up his quarters in the Abby of Terbank, and the Field-Marſhal d' Auverquerque in the ſuburbs of Louvain. Both armies continued here ſome weeks in the ſame camp; and nothing happened, except ſkirmiſhes between parties, which do not deſerve to be mentioned in hiſtory. But this neighbourhood occaſioned a great deſertion on both ſides (for encouraging the Queen's ſubjects to return to their colours) the Duke of Marlborough cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, promiſing pardon to all who ſhould ſo return, and threatening with death thoſe who did not.

The armies near again.

On the 5th of July, at 11 in the morning, his Grace received advice, that the French had taken poſſeſſion of the city of Ghent, between 5 and 6 in the morning. A detachment of their troops, commanded by the Brigadiers la Faille and Paſteur, advanced before break of day near that place, and ſent 5 or 6 ſoldiers, pretending to be deſerters, who being admitted into the town, at the opening of the gates, amuſed the watch, conſiſting of 5 or 6 of the militia, in telling them ſtories of the march of the French army. This gave time to 5 or 6 other pretended deſerters to come in, and almoſt at the ſame time Brigadier la Faille arrived, with ſeveral more men. That gentleman having been ſome time before High Bailiff of that city, had a great intereſt in it; and being arrived, commanded the militia to lay down

The city of Ghent ſurpriſed by the French.

1708 their arms, and admit the French troops; which was done accordingly, without any oppoſition. They ſummoned the magiſtrates at the town-houſe, wherein the Brigadier cauſed a pardon for the inhabitants to be ready, whereby they were promiſed to be maintained in their privileges and immunities. They ſummoned the governor of the caſtle to ſurrender; but he would not, and declared, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity.

A fruitleſs attempt to reinforce the caſtle.

Major-General Murray, with two Engliſh regiments of foot, and a Spaniſh regiment of dragoons of Colonel d' Audignies, being poſted at Marienkerke, endeavoured to throw a reinforcement into the caſtle of Ghent, but was prevented, and had 3 men killed and ſome wounded; whereupon he retired to Sas van Ghent, where he found the deputies of the States for the affairs of Flanders; with whom he had a conference, to adviſe what was to be done in the preſent conjuncture. This ſurrender alarming the Allies, the governor of Saas thought fit to reinforce the garriſon of the Red-houſe with 50 men, and the deputies countermanded the march of the regiment of Elberfeldt, which was advancing to Elkolo. Major-General Murray poſted his troops under the cannon of fort Leopoldus; but the next morning received orders from the Duke of Marlborough to endeavour to join Major-General Bothmar, who was detached from the great army, with 3 regiments of dragoons, and one of horſe. He paſſed accordingly the canal; but receiving advice from M. Bothmar, that their conjunction was impracticable, he returned the 7th to his former poſt. The deputies gave, in the mean time, ſeveral orders for ſecuring the poſts that were moſt expoſed. The garriſon of the fort of the Red-Houſe was farther reinforced with 100 men, and a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and am-

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ammunition. Two hundred dragoons of the regiment d' Audignies were detached for ſecuring the lines of Biervliet, and 40 were ſent to Hulſt.

Bruges ſurrenders to the enemy.

The city of Bruges ſurrendered the 6th to the enemy, without offering any reſiſtance; but made a ſort of capitulation, wherein the Sieur Briel, receiver of the contributions, and his comptroller Volmer, were included. It was thought fit, upon this advice, to reinforce the garriſon of Damme with all the troops that were in Sluyce, except 50 men; and the ſame evening his Grace received advice, that that place was to be inveſted. The governor of the caſtle of Ghent, deſpairing of being relieved, thought fit to ſurrender that place upon honourable terms, and delivered one of the gates the 8th in the morning. The French ſoldiers very much abuſed the Engliſh that were in Ghent, and plundered moſt of them, which their officers might eaſily have prevented.

As does the caſtle of Ghent.

Reflection on the taking of theſe places.

As this pardon, publiſhed in Ghent, by Brigadier La Faille, bore date the 12th of May, it ſhewed that this deſign was of a long ſtanding, and not the effect of ſudden meaſures taken by the French generals. The deputies of the States received advice, that ſome of the eminent burghers were concerned therein, and that the deſign of betraying Antwerp to the enemy, which was happily diſcovered in May, was to take effect after the ſeizing of Ghent, and grounded thereupon. Theſe intrigues were probably the chief motives which obliged, on a ſudden, the French King to appoint the Duke of Burgundy to command his army in the Netherlands; for had the deſign taken effect, that young Prince, according to the French cuſtom, would have been cried up as the ableſt General in the world.

The enemy having been obliged to quit their camp of Brain la Lieu, for ſupporting their intended

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Motions of the two armies before the battle of Oudenarde.

tended conqueſts, the Duke of Marlborough decamped likewiſe from Terbank. He paſſed the canal the 5th of July in 4 columns, and encamped with his left at Anderlecht, and his right at the mill de Tomberg; where, hearing of the enemy's intelligence in Ghent, and of their detachment, his Grace ſent 4 regiments of dragoons to Dendermond, to have prevented the deſigns of the French upon that town, but they came too late. That ſame day the French paſſed the Senne at Hall and Tubiſe, and were paſſing at the mill of Goicke till night, within a league of our right wing, which came very late into its camp. The army having made a long march thro' difficult ways, it was not poſſible to attack the enemy that night.

The 6th, in the morning, the Confederate army was drawn up in battle, the greateſt part of the horſe and foot having been brought to the right in the night. The enemy had the whole night, with all poſſible diligence, paſſed over the Dender through the town of Ninove, and over bridges which were made near it for that purpoſe; ſo that the detachment, ſent to attack their rear-guard, came too late to find any thing but their ſmall baggage, and the detachment that guarded it. Major-General Thulenberg and Sir Richard Temple, with ten ſquadrons and five battalions, beat the eſcort, and took a great deal of baggage. Their detachment was ſuſtained by Major-General Duveene, with 10 ſquadrons more. That night, the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Aſche. The enemies camp extended itſelf from above Aloſt to Schillebillie on the Scheld. Prince Eugene arrived at Aſche, having left his horſe at Maeſtricht. The next day the army continued at Aſche: a regulation was made for the baggage, and pioneers were ſent out on every ſide to make ways.

The enemies eſcort beaten.

The

The 8th, being Sunday, the Duke of Marlborough was very ill of a violent feveriſh diſtemper, but was much better towards the evening. Orders were given, during the indiſpoſition of his Grace, at M. d' Auverquerque's quarters. There were four battalions ſent in to reinforce the garriſon of Bruſſels; and eight ſquadrons, and as many battalions, ordered away with Major-General Cadogan and the quarter-maſters, to make the ways. 1708

The 9th, the army marched in four columns by the left; all the horſe of the right wing in one column on the right, the horſe of the left in a column on the left, and the foot of both lines breaking in the middle in two columns in the center. The Earl of Albemarle was left with all the grenadiers of the army, and 30 ſquadrons, to make the rear-guard, in caſe the enemy ſhould have made any movement towards Bruſſels.

This morning, the Duke of Marlborough heard that the detachments of 700 men from Aeth, Courtray, and Menin, were ſafely got into Oudenarde, and that Brigadier Chanclos, who had likewiſe flung himſelf into the town, was not in any apprehenſion for the ſafety of it. Waleff's dragoons were likewiſe to be in the town this morning from Aeth, whither they had been ſent from Aſche for that end. The regulation touching the baggage was exactly obſerved, and the ways being well made, the army marched in beautiful order, and with prodigious expedition. The head was paſſed Herſelinghen, which is above 5 leagues from Aſche, before 11 o'clock. The lines perfectly cloſed up without ſtraggling or any thing left behind. The Duke of Marlborough gave orders for the army to pitch their tents juſt in their march, fronting towards the enemy. The French, who were far from expecting that the Duke of Marlborough's army was able to make ſuch a march, did not beat their general till three in the afternoon, reckoning themſelves ſure of the

Expeditious march of the Allies.

1708 camp of Leſſines, in which they deſigned to cover the ſiege of Oudenarde, which they had inveſted this morning, their artillery being ready at Tournay. At ſeven the retreat was beat, which was the ſignal for ſtriking the tents, and marching immediately. The army marched all night, and Major-General Cadogan, with his detachment, having taken poſt and made bridges over the Dender at Leſſines, the army began to paſs at eleven o'clock on Tueſday the 10th, and continued their march to the camp on the other ſide. The rivulet that falls into the Dender, below the camp of Leſſines, is what makes the ſtrength of that ſituation. The enemy finding themſelves diſappointed of this camp, left their route towards the camp of Leſſines, in which they had marched ſeveral hours, and faced towards Gavre, to paſs the Scheld there.

The French paſs the Scheld.

Wedneſday morning, the 11th, news came that the enemy had quitted Oudenarde. Brigadier Chanclos charged their rear-guard with Waleff's dragoons; and Major-General Cadogan was ſent with 16 battalions and 8 ſquadrons, to make the ways and bridges at Oudenarde. The army began to march at eight o' clock by the left, ſtill in four columns, as it had encamped. After the news came of the enemies being ſtill paſſing at Gavre, and that there were hopes of coming to action, the army marched with ſo great expedition, that the head was, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the bridges over which the 16 battalions that were with Major-General Cadogan were then paſſing. The eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, with Major General Rantzau, were poſted on an eminence behind the rivulet that runs into the Scheld. They ſaw a great many French ſquadrons drawn up on the plain, on the other ſide the rivulet; and the march of the French army being directed towards their right, they had flung 7 battalions of foot into Heaurne, through

through which the highway runs along the Scheld. The rivulet above is marſhy, and hardly paſſable for horſe, tho' very narrow. Theſe appearances made it uncertain, whether their true deſign was to hinder the Duke of Marlborough's paſſing the Scheld, or to gain their own lines between Liſle and Tournay, which they might expect to have time enough to do. For they could by no means imagine ſuch a vaſt army could march five leagues in a very cloſe country, have their ways made, paſs a great river, and give them diſturbance, all in one day. 1708

Battle of Oudenarde.

About three o' clock, the French cavalry in that plain, before our advanced-guards, began to diſappear, taking their march towards their own right. Then Major-General Cadogan, who, between 3 and 4, with 12 of the 16 battalions, had paſſed the bridge, attacked the village Heaurne with ſuch bravery (brigadier Sabine, with his brigade, being at the head;) that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the village; in which were 7 French battalions, three of which were taken entire, as was the greater part of the other four.

Cadogan takes the village Heaurne with 7 battalions.

Immediately after Major-General Rantzau, at the head of the 8 Squadrons, with the quarter-maſters, paſſed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horſe had been drawn up between the villages of Rotze and Mullon. A great many ſquadrons of their rear-guard ſtill paſſing through that plain, the 8 Squadrons, with the quarter-maſters, being formed into ſquadrons, attacked them with great vigour, and drove them into the cloſe ground and the highway that led into the march of their own army. Here it was that the Prince Electoral of Hanover (now King of Great-Britain) diſtinguiſhed himſelf, charging with his ſword in his hand at the head of a ſquadron of Bulau's dragoons. His horſe was ſhot under him, and Colonel Luſcky, that commanded the ſquadron, was killed, fighting bravely by him.

Bravery of the Electoral Prince of Hanover.

1708 him. Lieutenant-General Shullembergh, and ſeveral other voluntiers, behaved themſelves with great ſpirit, and led up the ſquadrons. Here the French regiment of La Bertoſche, and ſeveral other regiments, were entirely broke. The Colonel La Bertoſche, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken; as were many other officers, with 12 ſtandards and kettle-drums.

In the mean time the troops continued to paſs the bridges with great diligence. The Pruſſian horſe formed themſelves upon the right, in the ſame plain where our advanced guard was; and the reſt of the horſe, as they paſſed, followed the Pruſſians through the village of Heaurne into the plain. The foot, by reaſon of the length of the march, and that the horſe had gallop'd a great part of the way, arrived later at their bridges, ſo that till five o' clock there was no foot, except the 16 battalions.

The Duke haſtens the coming up of the foot.

My Lord Duke, with Prince Eugene, being paſſed into the plain, to the head of the horſe, where they were forming, and perceiving the great need there was of foot, ſent orders to the foot that had been employed in the attack of the village, to leave their poſt there, and fling themſelves into the hedges on the other ſide of the plain, towards which the enemy ſeemed to be marching with great diligence. There were then but two battalions of ours on that ſide of the plain, which were major-general Collier's and Brigadier Grumchon's. They were attacked with great fury, but maintained their poſt with prodigious bravery till more foot came up to ſuſtain them, long afterwards. The Duke ſent orders after orders to the foot to preſs their march, the French being then forming, and ready to attack the foot that was there with very unequal numbers. In this time the Duke of Argyle arrived with 20 battalions: They were hardly poſted when the French attacked them with great fury, driving ſome Pruſſian bat-

Who arrive.

battalions from their poſt, which, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, they retook again ſword in hand. This happened about ſix in the evening. Count Lottum, by this time, was coming up with the reſt of the foot of the right, to ſuſtain this attack. His Grace finding the great effort was like to be made on the right, ſent to the left for 20 battalions. The left wing, which had paſſed their horſe through Oudenarde, and the foot over bridges below the town made for that purpoſe, arriving ſome time later than the right, had formed themſelves in two lines, with the village of Merghem behind them. 1708

As ſoon as the foot arrived, they formed themſelves in two lines before the horſe, and then attacked, in very good order, the incloſures and villages in their front, wherein the French were poſted. About ſeven o' clock the fire grew univerſal both on the right and left. In moſt places the French gave way; but, being ſuſtained with freſh troops, the action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after. Before the left of the left wing there was a kind of an opening, through which run a road that led into the plain on the top of the hill. The Prince of Frieſe, at the head of the Dutch foot, cleared this opening. In the inſtant in which this was performing, my Lord Marlborough arrived at the left, Prince Eugene taking care of the right. At the ſame time the fire was ſeen to go into the wood, the French ſeeming to yield almoſt every where. *The Enemy give way.*

My Lord Duke ſent orders to M. d' Auverquerque and count Tilly, on the top of the hill to preſs the French as much as they could on that ſide. Accordingly they paſſed the Daniſh horſe through a narrow defile, into a field where all the French houſhold were drawn up under the hedges. Round this great field, being poſſeſſed by the French, the Prince of Frieſe brought in the foot;

1708 foot; and having formed them in two lines, he led them on with great reſolution, the French every where giving way. The count d' Oxenſteirne was along with this Prince and the foot. This happened to be upon the flank of the French; ſo that moſt of thoſe that were retiring, being beaten from the right to the left, were forced back again into the incloſures in great diſorder; ſo that at laſt, when it was growing dark, many battalions, and more ſquadrons, flung themſelves out in a deſperate manner. Some of them, piercing through others, were cut to pieces; ſome were forced back; ſome paſſed through unperceived, and others aſked to capitulate for their whole regiments.

Their great confuſion.

The diſorder was now ſo very great, and the fire directed ſo many different ways at once, that it was impoſſible to know friends from foes; for which reaſon poſitive orders were given to fire no more till morning, and rather let the enemies eſcape, than for the victors to venture putting themſelves in confuſion.

The fire ſuſpended.

Bravery of the generals. During the greateſt part of this action, M. d' Auverquerque was on horſeback at the head of the troops, in the hotteſt of the fire; Count Tilly was at the head of the horſe; and the Prince of Wirtemberg animated the troops every where by his own example, ſhewing himſelf in all places where the enemy appeared. A great many ſquadrons of the French houſhold, which advanced to ſupport their foot, were broke to pieces. Lieutenant-general Rantzau diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much on this occaſion.

On the right, while the Duke of Marlborough was on the left, Prince Eugene having made openings with the foot, ſent in the horſe to a little plain to attack the French cavalry; which they did with very good ſucceſs: But purſuing too far, they ſuffered by the fire of the foot, and by freſh horſe that came pouring down upon them.

The

The Pruſſian Gendarms diſtinguiſhed themſelves very much, and loſt very near the half of their number in this action. Lieutenant-General Watſmore, who ſhewed a great deal of valour in commanding that attack, was, at the head of thoſe troops, wounded ſlightly above the eye. 1708

Towards night, the French hardly made any more reſiſtance any where, every thing ſeeming to be in the laſt diſorder. Had there been two hours more of light, in all probability their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horſe, had been entirely cut off; they being very near ſurrounded. As ſoon as it was dark, their troops retired by the road that goes through the village of Huyſen, from Oudenarde to Ghent. Their artillery and baggage were not come up; ſo that, in all the action, they did not make uſe of above four pieces of cannon. As ſoon as it was light next morning, the troops that had lain upon their arms all night were ready; but the enemy was gone, leaving only ſome foot, and 35 ſquadrons for their rear-guard. *The night favourable to the French.*

The Duke of Marlborough ordered 40 ſquadrons from the right, commanded by the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley with a conſiderable body of foot, to attack them: but the French having flung themſelves into the highway that runs to Ghent, they were followed only by four battalions and 40 ſquadrons. The grenadiers of the 4 battalions puſhed 12 companies of the French grenadiers, who were poſted along the highway, to ſecure their retreat. The head of the ſquadrons, falling into the fire of the French grenadiers, had ſeveral officers and ſoldiers killed and wounded; but the regiment of Pentz ſuffered moſt. Of the grenadiers commanded by Major Erwing, ſeveral officers were killed and wounded on this occaſion. Major-General Meredith was ſlightly wounded with a muſket-ſhot, on the bone of the cheek. *Action the next morning*

On

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In which the enemy ſuffer.

On the enemies ſide a great many were killed and taken. The regiment of Riſbourg was entirely ruined, being the laſt regiment that ſtood. Two entire companies were taken. Brigadier Pourriennee, who commanded the laſt brigade, was taken, with many other officers. Their rear-guard was puſhed within leſs than two leagues of Ghent; but there being only one road, without any place to form in, and the foot being very much tired, it was not thought fit to purſue them any farther. What remained of their army retired under the cannon of Ghent.

Loſs on both ſides.

The loſs of the French, in this action, amounted to above 4000 left dead on the place: They carried off 5000 wounded, and had about 7000 made priſoners. On the ſide of the Allies only 2000 were ſlain, and about the ſame number wounded. They took 34 ſtandards, 25 colours, and 5 kettle-drums.

The ſhattered condition of the French.

The remains of the French army marched through Ghent in great diſorder, having about 100 pieces of cannon with them, and encamped along the canal of Bruges, the Duke of Burgundy taking his quarters at Bellem. They left twenty two battalions for a garriſon in the former place, which ſuffered ſo very much in the battle, that they were reduced to a very few men. It was impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of the French Princes and generals; eſpecially when they heard that the Duke of Marlborough was marched towards Ipres, had forced the lines of Comines, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for cutting off the communication between France and the French army.

French accounts of their own loſs.

To confirm theſe accounts given by the Allies, we need only to make ſome extracts from papers written by the French themſelves. In one of them, dated from Paris, we are told, that when "the "King received at Fontainbleau the firſt advice "of the fatal battle fought near Oudenarde, he "was

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" was ſo much concerned, that he could not for-
" bear to utter theſe words: *Again without ſuc-*
" *ceſs! O Spain! what blood do you coſt!*" And in another article from Ipres we have theſe words: " Our loſs in the battle near Oudenarde " appears every day much greater than was re-" ported: for beſides 6000 men we loſt upon " the ſpot, the enemy took 600 officers, and " 5000 private men, priſoners." But the moſt remarkable piece is the extract of a letter from the ſame place, written by a French officer who was there priſoner.

Extract of a letter from a French officer.

" I can only ſend you an unwelcome relation " of the particulars of the battle which happened " yeſterday about two in the afternoon near " Oudenarde. 'Twill prove a great blow to " France; for without exaggerating the matter, " we loſt above 10,000 men, killed or wounded, " or taken. The action was very ill managed on " our ſide; for inſtead of attacking the enemy " when they began to paſs the Scheld near Oude-" narde at eleven in the morning, we let them come " over the river quietly, which they would not " have adventured to do, had we in any tolera-" ble manner offered to diſpute their paſſage. At " leaſt 40 of our beſt regiments are reduced to " a wretched condition, the greateſt part of them " being killed or taken; ſo that it will be a long " time, before they can be re-eſtabliſhed. Of " four regiments of the King's houſhold at leaſt " half are taken priſoners, and among them are " ſeveral perſons of note.

Of another from the D. of Marlborough.

The Duke of Marlborough, in a letter to Queen Anne, dated July 23, has theſe expreſſions: " The circumſtances in this laſt battle, I think, " ſhew the hand of God: for we were obliged " not only to march five leagues that morning, but " to paſs a river before the enemy, and to en-" gage them before the whole army was paſſed;

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" which was a viſible mark of the favour of " Heaven to you and your arms."

Retreat of the French army.

It was obſerved, that the Duke of Burgundy, in this retreat, did not take the poſt of honour, but out of modeſty reſigned to the Duke de Vendome the care of bringing up the rear, and arrived himſelf at five o' clock the next morning after the battle at Ghent, attended by the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George. A late Author, who very much favours the French, and in particular the Duke de Vendome, tells us, " That there was a *ſecret force* which drew the " young Prince towards that city, which made " him contend with the Duke de Vendome a- " gainſt giving battle till it was too late to avoid " it, and till they could not fight but with diſad- " vantage."——Vendome arrived there at nine o'clock, and ordered the troops to march through Ghent, without making any halt, to Lovendeghem, on the canal between that city and Ghent. Their retreat was very diſorderly, at leaſt amongſt the foot; for the cavalry, having had but little ſhare in the action, retired in better order. As they had left their cannon and light baggage at Gavre on the day of the fight, they had the good luck to ſave it, and afterwards planted it on the entrenchments they caſt up along the canal. They had above 100 field-pieces, beſides the cannon they found in Ghent. The hoſpitals and publick places in Ghent being not able to receive the wounded, part of them were ſent to Bruges.

Motions of the Allies.

The Confederate troops being returned to their camp, which was the field of battle, they reſted there the 12th and 13th, while Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States, and M. d' Auverquerque, debated in a council of war what was to be done in the preſent conjuncture; and reſolved that the army under the Duke of Marlborough ſhould immediately march towards Menin, paſs the Lys, level the lines between

between Warneton and Ipres, and hinder any detachment from getting into Ipres, or the French army from retiring that way. Prince Eugene was to march at the ſame time towards Bruſſels, to aſſemble his forces, obſerve the motions of the Duke of Berwick, and hinder the French from retiring into Brabant by the ſame way they came. According to theſe reſolutions the Count de Lottum, General of the Pruſſians, with the Lieutenants-General Fagel and Dopft, marched the 13th at night, with 30 battalions and 40 ſquadrons, towards Old Helchin, and the next day advanced towards the French lines. The fort of the Red Bridge was abandoned without any reſiſtance. Warneton, Comines, and Werwick ſurrendered the 15th in the afternoon, and they took in thoſe poſts 500 priſoners. The ſame day the army, which had encamped between Bellegen and Hauterive, marched in two columns towards Menin, paſſed the Lys on two bridges near that place, and encamped between Werwick and Menin. While the lines between the Lys and Ipres were demoliſhing by a detachment of the army, other detachments were ſent to raiſe contributions as far as Arras; and the deputies that came from that country, not having been able to agree, returned home. This obliged the Generals to have recourſe to military executions, and the parties ſet on fire two of the ſuburbs of Arras. Another party advanced to Lens to ſet it on fire; but the inhabitants gave hoſtages to pay what was demanded of them. The Duke of Marlborough kept his troops under a ſtrict diſcipline; ſo that the country people brought plenty of proviſions to his camp. Prince Eugene lay encamped at Enguien with a detachment of the grand army, and the forces he brought from Germany, except the Palatine infantry, which encamped without Bruſſels, near the gates of Louvain, Namure, and Hall. That Prince obſerved the Duke of Berwick,

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1708 whoſe forces were poſted between Mons and Conde.

It is very remarkable, that before the battle of Oudenarde, when Prince Eugene left his army, and came up alone to be preſent at the action, upon ordering the troops to advance towards the enemy, his Grace told his Serene Highneſs, "That he was not without hopes of felicitating "him with the ſight of a victory at his arrival in "Flanders, eſpecially as the troops were animat-"ed with his Highneſs's preſence." His Grace had indeed always a ſort of noble confidence in his good fortune, which a long ſeries of uninterrupted ſucceſs could not but ſtrengthen.

Care taken to ſecure the convoys.

As the conſternation was very great in the enemy's country, by reaſon of the late excurſions therein, the Duke of Marlborough reſolved to detach a more conſiderable body into the French territories, to extend the contributions, or proceed to military execution in caſe of refuſal. The generals and the States deputies having taken into conſideration, that as long as the enemies were poſted between Ghent and Bruges, it was impoſſible for them to receive their heavy artillery for a ſiege, orders were ſent to the governor of Sas-van-Ghent, to ſend the boats loaden with it, which had been ſome time in that place, to Antwerp; from whence the train could be carried to Bruſſels by means of the canal. At the ſame time a new train of 20 battering-pieces was ordered from Maeſtricht to Bruſſels, and the country was to furniſh a ſufficient number of horſes for that ſervice. The hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, with the Saxon and Heſſian cavalry, continued at Bruſſels for ſecuring the tranſport of this artillery: and while the Allies were ſecuring their own convoys, ten ſquadrons under Brigadier Chanclos were detached towards Oudenarde, to hinder the enemy from receiving any convoys from Tournay, where there was advice,

vice, they had one preparing. Another detachment of 500 horſe, under the Prince of Avergne and Count Maurice de Naſſau, was detached at the ſame time towards Rouſſelaer, to cut off the convoys of proviſions the enemy might receive by the way of Ipres; and all poſſible precautions were taken to ſtreighten them in their camp, where they continued to entrench themſelves, and talked of inſulting the frontiers of the States. But I muſt not mention every minute motion of either army. 1708

On the 24th of July, advice came to the camp, that the Duke of Berwick was marched from Doway with 23 ſquadrons, beſides the cavalry of the garriſon of Liſle, to Tournay, with a deſign to attack the baggage of the Allies in their march from Aeth: whereupon the Duke of Marlborough detached 6 ſquadrons from the right, under the command of Major-General Baudits, to re-inforce Lieutenant-General Dompre, who had been detached with 2000 horſe; and ſo the baggage came ſafe into the camp, the enemy not thinking fit to attack it. *Which arrives ſafe.*

According to a reſolution before taken, 50 ſquadrons, 12 battalions, and 1000 grenadiers, were detached to march towards the country of Artois, under Count Tilly, the Lieutenants-General Orkney, Rantzau, and Hompeſch, and the Majors-General Webb, Rantzau, and Count d' Erbach. The infantry were to take poſt at La Baſſee; but the cavalry to advance into the French territories as far as Picardy, to lay them under contribution, or put them under military execution. Tilly, with the detachment under his command, fell in the 26th, between La Baſſee and Lens, with 800 horſe detached from the army of the Duke of Berwick, of which he killed a great many, and took a Colonel, a Major, 3 captains, and 200 troopers. His troops purſued the enemy to the gates of Lens, wherein they had poſted 1400 foot, which abandoned the town the 27th, upon the approach *An excurſion, headed by Count Tilly.*

1708 of Count Tilly's infantry. That General took poſſeſſion of the place, and put in it 5 battalions. Upon advice, that a detachment from the Duke of Burgundy's army was to join the Duke of Berwick, the Lieutenants-General Dedem and Eaſt-Frieſland were ſent with 20 battalions and 15 ſquadrons, with orders to poſt themſelves at Armentieres, to be ready to join Count Tilly in caſe of need. The deputies of the province of Artois agreed with that Count for contributions, and ſent ſeveral detachments towards Picardy. Marſhal Boufflers and M. Chamillard arrived about this time at Liſle, which place the enemy put in a good poſture of defence, expecting to be beſieged upon the arrival of the artillery, according to a reſolution of the Confederate generals. At laſt Count Tilly's detachment, having burnt the ſuburbs of Dourlens, returned to the camp with ſeveral hoſtages from Picardy.

The French invade Dutch Flanders.

The French having continued to entrench themſelves along the canal of Bruges, while Count Tilly was raiſing contributions in the province of Artois, the Duke of Burgundy detached 15,000 men under the command of the Chevalier du Rozel, to make an irruption into Dutch Flanders. They advanced to the lines of Biervliet; and General Fagel and Major-General Murray, having but 3 battalions and a regiment of dragoons with them, did not think fit to expoſe thoſe troops, and therefore quitted the lines, and put their men into Sluyce and other places. The enemy finding the lines unguarded, marched into the iſland of Caſandt, where they plundered and burnt about 100 houſes, and obliged the inhabitants to agree to pay them contributions; after which they returned to their camp. This invaſion made the States very uneaſy, but was not able to oblige their High-Mightineſſes to alter their meaſures. They had wiſely provided for the ſecurity of their territories, without croſſing the

the project of the ſiege of Liſle. Mean time the French deſerters reported, that their generals could not believe the Allies would undertake a ſiege of that importance, at ſuch a diſtance from their magazines. They were ſurpriſed therefore at the march of the Confederate army, and burnt moſt of their ſuburbs. I ſhall not here give any detail of that ſiege, having already done it in the hiſtory of Prince Eugene, who commanded it; but confine myſelf to the motions of the Grand army, with which the Duke of Marlborough covered that enterpriſe. 1708

The Earl of Orkney, with the Majors-General Denhoff and Schuylemburg, and 3 brigadiers, were detached in the night between the 18th and 19th of Auguſt, with 3000 foot and 1000 horſe, to take poſt near Templeuve, to cover a convoy of ammunition which was going to the camp before Liſle; but the march of that convoy being countermanded, the detachment returned into the camp. King Auguſtus and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel being arrived the 17th at Aeth, in their way to the army, the Duke of Marlborough met them at Potte on the Scheld the 18th, and conducted them to the camp. His Majeſty took his quarters at my Lord Duke's, and the Landgrave with his ſon Prince William. The 19th, the firſt line of the army was drawn up, and viewed by thoſe princes, who ſet out the 20th for the camp before Liſle.

King Auguſtus and the Landgrave of Heſſe at the Duke's camp.

The generals having thought fit that the Grand army ſhould make a motion from Helchin, for the better covering the ſiege, the cavalry of the left marched the 22d towards the Scheld, and encamped between the villages of Potte and St. Vernoux, to be nearer at hand to paſs the Scheld, and form the van-guard of the army, which was to march by the left. The 23d, by break of day, 1500 horſe, commanded by the Count d'Erbeck Major-General, and Brigadier Groveſtein, were detached with the quarter-maſters-general to mark out a camp

The army moves from Helchin.

1708

camp on the other ſide of the Scheld; and about ſeven o'clock the whole army marched in two columns by the left, paſſed the Scheld near Potte on four bridges, and encamped at Amongies, the right to the river near Eſcanaffe, and the left at Annieres.

Motions on both ſides.

On the 28th, the Duke of Marlborough, being encamped at Amongies, detached the Earl of Athlone, with 1500 horſe, to obſerve the motions of the enemy. That general advanced towards Leuſe, and his van-guard meeting with 100 horſe detached from the army of the Duke of Berwick, they charged them with ſo much vigour, that they ran away, and left 30 priſoners. The ſame day the army of the Duke de Vendome advanced to Ninove, and the Duke of Berwick to Enguien, having left his baggage behind the Haine near Mons. They had put 5 battalions and 3 ſquadrons into Bruges, and 12 battalions and 7 ſquadrons into Ghent. The two French armies marched towards Leſſines the 29th, and joined there, when all their troops made 208 ſquadrons and 126 battalions. Upon thoſe marches, the Duke of Marlborough thought fit to repaſs the Scheld, and encamped again at Helchin, from whence he marched the 31ſt, in the afternoon, to Templeuve. Their next camp was with their right at Pont a Treſſin, having the river Marc before them.

As ſoon as the forces were got into the camp, his Grace went to the quarters of Prince Eugene, to confer with him; and the army received orders to forage beyond the Marc, and gather in as much as ever they could. The 2d of September my Lord Duke, Prince Eugene, M. d'Auverquerque, and the other generals, went to view the country, and what ground was moſt convenient to poſt their army on, in caſe the French ſhould attempt to relieve Liſle; when it was reſolved to draw out the army in order of battle in the plain of Liſle. The ſame day the enemy began to paſs the Scheld, in

The Confederate generals reſolve to draw up their army in order of battle.

five

five columns, below and above Tournay. The 3d, they marched in 4 columns, along the cauſey between Liſle and Tournay; but being come to Camphin, they turned to their left, and marched towards Orchiers. It was judged from their motions, that they deſigned to march up to the head of the Marc, to come at the Allies without being obliged to paſs any river. 1708

The ſame day the quarter-maſters of the army went to mark the ground each regiment was to take up, between the mill of Noyelle and the village of Fretin, and all the baggage was ſent into the entrenchments before Liſle. The enemy lay that night on their arms near Orchiers, and the 4th in the morning continued their march towards Mons en Pevelle. Hereupon the Confederate army marched the ſame day about 10 o'clock to the ground marked out the day before, and were joined in the evening by Prince Eugene with 26 battalions and 76 ſquadrons, which were poſted on the right of the line with the Pruſſian troops: the Engliſh and Danes were on the left, and the Dutch and Hanoverians in the centre. All the cavalry was drawn up in two lines, and the infantry formed a third line behind the horſe. This diſpoſition was thought neceſſary in a plain; and, to cover the flanks of the army, 20 battalions were poſted on each wing, and behind them 20 ſquadrons as a body of reſerve, to be employed where it ſhould be thought neceſſary. Count Naſſau-Woudenburgh, with his brigade, was poſted in the village of Entiere, which was at the head of the army.

Order of drawing up.

They continued in that poſture all the night between the 4th and 5th, having placed their artillery in front, in the places through which it was believed the enemy might come. The head of the French army was within a league of the Allies, and they were joined by all their field-artillery, and 30 pieces of heavy cannon from Doway.

An engagement hourly expected.

1708 Doway. This made the Duke believe they would attack him the next morning; when the two armies were ſo near that they could hear the beating of each others drums. By break of day the Confederate generals repaired to their reſpective poſts, to be ready to receive the enemy; and Lieutenant-General Fagel, having marched with almoſt an incredible ſpeed, joined them that morning with 7 battalions and 7 ſquadrons. King Auguſtus and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel came alſo to be voluntiers in the engagement. They continued till ten o'clock in order of battle, when the generals, ſeeing the French did not advance, ordered the tents to be pitched again, and the detachment of Prince Eugene returned to the camp before Liſle, except ſome Imperial and Heſſian ſquadrons.

Which the enemy avoiding, the Duke orders his army to entrench.

The generals concluding, that the enemy had no other deſign, than to give frequent alarms to retard the ſiege of Liſle, and ſtreighten them in their forage, without venturing a fight, an hundred men out of each battalion were ordered to caſt up an entrenchment from the mill of Noyelle to the mill of Fretin. The village of Seclin lay in the front of this line, and was the place through which the enemy might moſt conveniently make an attack. Thoſe entrenchments, which covered the army againſt all ſurpriſe, were perfected the 7th of September, when the infantry was drawn up in two lines behind them, and the horſe in two lines on the wings. My Lord Duke continued in his quarters at Fretin, and M. d'Auverquerque at Peronne. The enemy were encamped between Tumieres and Merigni, having Mons en Pevelle behind them, and the head of the Marc before their camp.

Vendome continuing in his camp to alarm the Allies, he detached thence thirty ſquadrons the 7th in the morning, which marched by Tournay, with a deſign to attack a convoy coming from Bruſſels,

Bruſſels, under the guard of a body of troops commanded by Lieutenant-General Paſcal. To prevent this, the Duke of Marlborough detached the ſame evening thirty ſquadrons, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, Major-General Wittinghoff, and three brigadiers, who were ordered to advance as far as Gramont to meet the convoy. The next day the enemy advanced their foragers within a quarter of a league of Fretin, where the Duke had his quarters: whereupon two Engliſh battalions were ordered to fall upon them. They marched to the enemy, and repulſed them to Ennevelin, where they had poſted ſome troops in a caſtle ſurrounded with two ditches. The Engliſh troops endeavoured to diſlodge them from thence, and attacked them with a great deal of bravery; but the Duke de Vendome cauſed all his grenadiers, and the piquet of ſix brigades, which were encamped in the front of his army near Pont a Marc, to ſupport his troops in the caſtle. This obliged the two battalions to retire, ſeeing they could not force that poſt without cannon, and without being ſupported by all the infantry, which was not thought convenient in the preſent juncture. They made their retreat in very good order, and repulſed ſeveral times the enemy, tho' they were at leaſt four to one. They had three or four officers killed, and about 120 ſoldiers killed or wounded: but it was impoſſible to expreſs how much this vigorous action encouraged the whole army; it being very remarkable, that two battalions alone could repulſe ſuch a body of men. The 10th, the enemy made a motion, advancing with their right, which extended to Berſſe, ſomewhat near Pont a Marc, to ſuſtain that poſt, and that of the caſtle Ennevelin.

1708

Bravery of two Engliſh battalions.

About this time M. Chamillard arrived in the French camp, with the laſt inſtructions of the Moſt Chriſtian King, relating to the ſiege of Liſle.

1708

His Grace again alarmed by the French.

A council of war was thereupon held, and the 11th in the morning the Duke of Marlborough had advice, that the enemies were in motion; and about two in the afternoon the head of their army was ſeen, conſiſting of ſeveral battalions and ſquadrons, with their workmen, who levell'd the ground between them and the Duke's entrenchments. A few minutes after, thoſe troops advanced towards the entrenchments, in very good order, which made his Grace believe, that they deſigned to attack him: whereupon 3 guns were fired, as a ſignal for every regiment of the army to take their poſt behind the entrenchments. About half an hour paſt three, the enemy began to cannonade the Confederate army with 10 or 12 pieces of cannon, and chiefly the village of Entieres, which lay before the great entrenchment, and which was fortified with good works. The Duke of Marlborough, who had foreſeen that the enemy would attack that poſt, placed therein two brigades, one of Engliſh commanded by Brigadier Evans, and one of Dutch commanded by Brigadier Wertmuller, with ſufficient artillery for its defence. Mean time an officer was diſpatched to Prince Eugene, to acquaint him with this motion; and that Prince came with all ſpeed, with a great detachment from his army. Orders were likewiſe ſent to the Earl of Albemarle, who was between Menin and Oudenarde, with 30 ſquadrons, to guard a convoy from Bruſſels, to return to the camp with all ſpeed; and the 12th, by break of day, his Lordſhip arrived with his detachment. All the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for giving a warm reception to the enemy; and as it was expected they would attack the next morning, the army continued all the night on their arms, behind the entrenchments; Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Field-Marſhal d'Auverquerque, remaining all that time in their reſpective poſts.

The

The 12th, about half an hour paſt ſix in the morning, the enemy began again to cannonade the Duke's entrenchments with 30 or 40 pieces of cannon, moſt 24 pounders: and the Allies anſwered them from their artillery placed on the entrenchments with good ſucceſs. His Grace believed, for ſome time, they were then in earneſt; but, at laſt, ſeeing they would not come up, the troops were ordered to their tents near the entrenchments. The 13th in the morning the Confederates expected to be entertained with the like muſick as the day before, having been informed that they had in the night prepared ſome other batteries: but they had withdrawn their heavy cannon, tho' they continued in the ſame poſt. Prince Eugene hereupon returned to the camp before Liſle, with moſt of the foot he had brought with him. As deſerters and ſpies had unanimouſly reported, that the enemy had reſolved, in the great council of war held in the preſence of M. de Chamillard the 10th inſtant, to attack the Duke's entrenchments, the ſoldiers of the Allies were in great expectation of a fight; and no words can expreſs the alacrity they ſhewed when they ſaw the enemy in motion. The enemy continued the 14th to fortify the village of Seclin, but yet did not bring any artillery to thoſe entrenchments, and withdrew ſome regiments that were too much expoſed to the cannon of the Allies, which did great execution amongſt them. 1708

Who at laſt attempt nothing.

M. de Chamillard being upon his return to the French court, where he was now prime miniſter, and willing to make a true report to his maſter of the ſituation of the Confederate army, went up to the top of a ſteeple in Seclin with ſeveral generals, from whence he might have eaſily diſcovered how the Allies were poſted; but a cannon-ball from the batteries of the latter happening to beat down ſome part of the wall of the church, that miniſter and the generals went down from

M. de Chamillard frighten'd.

1708

the ſteeple with a great deal of precipitation. The Duke of Burgundy held a council of war that day, wherein it was reſolved, that ſince there was no poſſibility to attack the Duke in his camp with any hopes of ſucceſs, their army ſhould decamp from thence, for ſome other deſigns. Accordingly the 15th, before break of day, they marched without any beat of drum, their right to Orchiers, and their left to Ribaucourt. The Duke of Marlborough gave orders to his army, to be in readineſs to march the 16th to obſerve the enemy. The ſame day his Grace received advice, that a convoy of ammunition, for which the Confederate generals were in great pain, was ſafely arrived from Aeth to Oudenarde. The enemy had detached the dragoons of Liſtenay and Riſburg to intercept it, and the count de la Motte was advanced to Grammont upon the ſame deſign.

The enemy draw off.

The 16th, at three in the morning, the enemies beat the general, and marched before break of day in four columns, by Mouchin and Bachy, directly towards Tournay: whereupon the Confederate army made a motion; the Engliſh troops, with the Pruſſians and Hanoverians, taking the right, which encamped to Fretin, and the Danes and Dutch in the left to Annappe, with the Marc before them all.

A detachment of 10 ſquadrons from the army of his Grace, and the like number from that of Prince Eugene, under the command of Brigadier Chanclos, marched at the ſame time towards Oudenarde, with orders to obſerve the motions of the enemy, who encamped that evening, their right to the rivulet Le Chin, and their left extending beyond Froimont. The head quarters were marked at Blandain; but the Princes went to Tournay. The 17th in the morning the enemy detached ſeveral regiments of horſe and foot towards Pont d'Eſpierre, and gave out that they were

to

to march towards Oudenarde. At the ſame time a detachment from the Duke's army marched to Courtray, but the main body continued where they were, in hopes the enemy would diſcover their deſigns. They ſpread ſeveral reports in their army; talked of the ſieges of Oudenarde and Aeth; and of reinforcing the Count de la Motte, who was to attack Bruſſels, while the army continued about Leſſines, to cut off the Allies communication with that city. The Duke of Marlborough, not to be behind-hand, ſent orders to Major-General Murray to march with ſeveral regiments from the Dutch Flanders for Bruſſels, to cover that city; and all poſſible meaſures were taken to prevent the deſigns of the enemy, whatever thoſe deſigns might at laſt prove.

1708

They gave out various reports.

His Grace marched the 18th, at ten in the morning, from the camp at Sanghin and Peronne; filing by the left. He paſſed the Marc at Pont a Treſſin and Foreſt, encamped his right to Wilſem, and his left to Pont a Vane, which is a rivulet that runs into the Scheld. The enemy, who paſſed the Scheld the 17th, continued the 18th in their camp along the Scheld, from the *Mount of the Trinity* beyond Pottes. His Grace having received advice, that they had laid two bridges on the Scheld near Warcoin, and had put ſome troops in the caſtle of that name on this ſide of the river, 600 grenadiers were detached to beat them away from that poſt, and ruin their bridges on the Scheld. Some pieces of cannon were ordered that way, and all the grenadiers of the army were commanded to meet the 19th, by break of day, at Pont a Vane, to ſupport the former detachment; and the reſt of the army were to be in a readineſs for ſuſtaining thoſe detachments. The grenadiers repaired accordingly to their rendezvous, where they expected Major-General Cadogan, who was ſent with a detachment to obſerve the country about the caſtle of Warcoin:

A detachment ſent to take a poſt, which the enemy abandon.

1708 but he found that the enemy had abandoned that poſt, and withdrawn their bridges; whereupon the detachment returned to their reſpective regiments, and the cavalry were ordered to fetch their forage from the camp they had quitted near Fretin. The 20th the army marched towards Lanoy, where the generals took up their quarters, and encamped the right to Hem near the Marc, and the left towards Leers. While they lay here, Prince Eugene received a ſlight wound, which occaſioned his Grace to leave the army a few days, in order to viſit his Highneſs, and command the ſiege during his indiſpoſition.

The Duke commands the ſiege.

An attempt to throw ammunition into Liſle.

The ſiege having laſted a long time, and the garriſon having ſuſtained ſeveral aſſaults, and made all the while a prodigious fire, they began now to want ammunition. Marſhal Boufflers having ſignified this to the Duke de Vendome, 14 ſquadrons were detached from his army, to endeavour to throw ſome ammunition into the place. In order thereto, each trooper was obliged to carry a bag of powder before him, which they took up at Douay; and having put green boughs in their hats, the uſual token of the troops of the Allies, they marched in the night to the camp of Prince Eugene. They paſſed the firſt guard, pretending that they were a detachment from the army under the Duke of Marlborough; but being diſcovered, and the alarm given, a Palatine regiment of dragoons engaged them, while the next regiments of foot ran out of their tents and made a fire upon them, which obliged them, to retire with precipitation, except ſome few who got into the town. The enemies had about 100 men killed, and 40 taken priſoners: but this affair I have related more particularly in the hiſtory of Prince Eugene.

Meaſures taken to ſecure the convoy from Oſtend.

While theſe things were tranſacting before Liſle, the Duke of Marlborough, who returned from the ſiege the 25th to his camp at Lanoy, was

was employed in making detachments, and taking other meaſures for ſecuring the great convoy of ammunition he expected from Oſtend. His Grace having received advice, that the Engliſh troops under Lieutenant-General Erle, being advanced to Leſſinghen, on the canal between Bruges and New-Port, the Count de la Motte had been re-inforced with ſeveral brigades from the French army, to intercept the ſaid convoy; he foreſaw that the 6 battalions and 800 horſe, detached under Brigadier Landſberg, and 10 ſquadrons more under Brigadier Sterkenburg, and 6 battalions under Brigadier Els, would not be ſufficient to oppoſe the enemy; and therefore Major-General Webb, and Brigadier Count Naſſau-Woudenburg, ſon to M. d' Auverquerque, marched the 26th, by break of day, with 12 battalions more, to join thoſe detachments on the road between Menin and Oſtend, and were ordered to advance as far as Ichtegem, in the country called Le Franc de Bruges, about four leagues from Leſſinghen. Major-General Cadogan marched in the mean time with a detachment of horſe and foot, to meet the convoy, upon their paſſing the canal of Bruges. Notwithſtanding that it was not poſſible to take other precautions for ſecuring this convoy than thoſe that were taken, the Allies were in great pain for it, upon advice that the body of troops the enemy had about Bruſſels were marched by Ninove to Ghent, to join the Count de la Motte, and that the intercepting of the convoy was judged ſo important, that the Duke of Berwick was gone to Bruges to command the army aſſembled there. 1708

The 28th his Grace received advice from Major-General Cadogan, that the day before the enemy had attacked the troops poſted at Oudenburg, but were repulſed with a conſiderable loſs, and returned to Bruges: whereupon the convoy, the ſame day, being the 27th, had paſſed the ca-

1708 nal at Leſſinghen, and marched with ſo much diligence, that they were come the next morning to Torout, having received no manner of diſturbance from the enemy. This made people believe, that the march of the convoy would occaſion no action: but the 29th in the morning, an adjutant from Major-General Cadogan brought advice, that the convoy being arrived at Artemachen, Major-General Webb, with 24 battalions had been attacked at Wynendale.

Account of the fight at Wynendale.

After the detachments, which were ſent to cover the march of the waggons with ammunition for the ſiege of Liſle, had joined at Torout the 27th of September, the generals Webb and Cadogan had intelligence that Major Savary, of the regiment of Guethem, had taken poſſeſſion of the Poſt of Oudenburg: whereupon Brigadier Landſberg was ſent thither with 600 grenadiers under Colonel Preſton, a battalion of Orkney under Colonel Hamilton, and that of Fune commanded by Colonel Wooght, to re-inforce that poſt.

The 28th, at 8 in the morning, the cavalry were ſent to Hooglede, there to wait for the convoy, except 150 horſe, commanded by the Count de Lottum, who were ſent the night before to Oudenburg, to carry orders to the two battalions and 600 grenadiers to guard the convoy as far as Kokelaer, and afterwards to rejoin the infantry at Torout. At noon the Count de Lottum returned to Torout, and reported that having marched as far as Jeteghem, he found an advanced-guard of the enemy, which he drove before him to the heath, where he diſcovered 16 ſquadrons, who mounted on horſeback with great precipitation on the alarm given by the advanced-guard; whereupon he had judged it beſt to return, to give notice of it. Upon this intelligence, all the infantry, in number 22 battalions, were ordered to march immediately: and the Count de Lottum, at the

the head of 150 horſe, making the van-guard, with the quarter-maſters, and the reſt of the grenadiers who had not been detached, was commanded to gain Jeteghen by the road of Wynendale. The van-guard arriving there, diſcovered the enemy at the entrance of the heath: whereupon the quarter-maſters and the remaining grenadiers were drawn up in battalia. Major-General Webb, with the Count de Naſſau-Woudenburg, at the head of the 150 horſe, advanced to view the enemy, giving orders at the ſame time to the regiments to advance with the utmoſt diligence upon the plain, and form themſelves into order of battle. The 150 horſe were left under the command of the Count de Lottum, at the entrance of the heath, to amuſe the enemy; and, the more to perplex them, the quarter-maſters and grenadiers were poſted among the buſhes bordering the ground thro' which the enemy were to paſs. 1708

As faſt as our regiments came out of the defile, they were drawn up in battalia by General Webb and the Count de Naſſau-Woudenburg, to fill the aperture which is between the wood of Wynendale, and the buſhes on the other ſide, which make a ſort of thicket. Hardly were ſix of our battalions come upon that ground, when the enemy from 19 cannon, nine of them of a triple bore, began to cannonade the 150 horſe placed in a little more advanced poſt; who, notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy, ſtood firm; which produced the effect our General expected from it, namely, the giving him time to draw up the infantry in battalia, to fill the aperture and form two lines. The left wing was extended far behind the fore-mentioned buſhes, to hinder the enemy's paſſing there, and to cover our flank. On the flank of the right, in the wood of Wynendale, was placed the regiment of Heukelum; and on the flank of the left, the regiment of the Hereditary

The enemy play their artillery while General Webb draws up his battalions.

1708 reditary Prince of Heſſe; with order to keep themſelves concealed, and not to fire till they could take the enemy in flank. Platoons of grenadiers were ordered to advance 40 paces before the right and left, with the like direction: the quarter-maſters were placed on the left, in a path leading thro' the fore-mentioned buſhes. The enemy, having cannonaded us three hours, advanced againſt us on the plain in battalia, with four lines of foot, and as many of horſe; whereupon the Count de Lottum was commanded to retire, and poſt his horſe 300 paces behind the foot, which he did in very good order. The enemy continued their march directly upon us, in number 40 battalions and 48 ſquadrons.

The General obſerving that the enemy filed off on their right among the buſhes, ſent the Count de Naſſau-Woudenburg to obſerve them; and order'd thither the regiment of Grumbkow, commanded by Colonel Beſchefer. Brigadier Eltz arrived on the right, with the regiments of the rear-guard, which he poſted in the wood of Wynendale. Half a quarter of an hour before the fight began, the two battalions and the 600 grenadiers, who had been detached under Brigadier Lanſberg, rejoined us, and formed a third line. That Brigadier had met, by accident, near Kokelaer, our ſoldiers wives all in tears; and was thereupon adviſed by the Colonels Preſton, Hamilton, and Wooght, to haſten to our aſſiſtance.

The battle. Preſently after the forming of our third line, the enemy began the attack, and advancing within 15 paces of the battalion poſted on the flank of our right, who had lain hid according to the General's order, and did not give their fire till the enemies flank was fully expoſed to them; but then did ſuch execution, that their left wing fell in diſorder among their right, which received from the regiment of Grumbkow, poſted on the flank

1708

flank of our left at much the ſame diſtance, a very terrible ſalute, that put them all into diſorder. However, they returned to the charge, and puſhed two of our battalions: but the Swiſs regiment of Albemarle, commanded by M. Hirtzel, advanced againſt their horſe, who endeavoured to break into them; and by their vigorous reſiſtance gave time to the General and Count de Nauſſau-Woudenburg to bring up the regiments of Berndorff and Lindeboom into the place of thoſe who had been puſhed from their ground; which was done very nimbly. In the mean time the enemy, ſupported by ſo many lines, made a ſecond effort to penetrate; but not one of our battalions ſtirred, unleſs to advance ſome paces. The General hindered them from preſſing on to the purſuit, to the end he might not loſe the advantage of the two flanks. His foreſight had all the ſucceſs that could have been wiſhed; for the two regiments and the grenadiers there making a continual fire, obliged the enemy's two wings to fall into their center, and to retire in great diſorder. All their officers could do, to make them turn again, was unavailable; and they contented themſelves with making a diſtant fire at our lines. Our men anſwered them by platoons, with the ſame exact order as if they had been only exerciſing.

In which the Allies have the advantage

Major-General Cadogan, who arrived ſoon after the fight was begun, offered to charge the enemy in their diſorder with two ſquadrons which we had; having before ſent orders to four ſquadrons to come and join us, who could not reach us till a little before ſeven o'clock. But it was not judged adviſable to expoſe ſo ſmall a number to charge the enemy, who were ſo much ſuperior, and had cauſed all their cavalry to advance to cover their retreat.

The fight was very fierce, and laſted almoſt two hours. We had 912 officers and ſoldiers killed

Loſs on both ſides.

or

1708

or wounded. The enemy, according to the report of the priſoners, confirmed by deſerters, loſt between 3 and 4000 men, and retired in ſo great confuſion, that they left their cannon in the woods, and did not return to fetch them off till eleven o'clock the next morning, after they had learnt that our general had continued his march at two that morning, to conduct the convoy by the way of Rouſſelaer, firſt having cauſed all our wounded, and many of the enemy's, to be carried off. The advantage we gained is the more ſurpriſing, in that we had but between 6 and 7000 men, and the enemy had between 23 and 24,000.

Particulars of it among the Allies.

The liſt of the ſlain and wounded amongſt the Allies amounted, according to an exact computation tranſmitted to the States-General, to the numbers that follow: 3 colonels and 2 lieutenant-colonels wounded; 2 majors killed, and 1 wounded; 4 captains killed, 18 wounded; 4 lieutenants killed, 36 wounded; 2 enſigns killed, 22 wounded; 15 ſerjeants killed, 38 wounded; 111 private men killed, and 680 wounded. The loſs of the French was not ſo exactly known; but as they were more numerous, and that they were repulſed, it muſt be much greater than that of the Allies, and letters from Ghent and Bruges confirmed the report of the deſerters, and made it near 4000 men killed or wounded.

Miſunderſtanding between the French and Spaniards.

This defeat of the enemy created great miſunderſtandings between the French and Spaniards. They had firſt of all a great diſpute about their rank, and the French pretended to the right; but Count Bergeyck and the Spaniſh generals declared they would never ſuffer that indignity, and the French were obliged to recede from their pretenſions. The Spaniſh troops had accordingly the right in the engagement, and complained that they were baſely abandoned by the French. How-

ever

ever it was, they ſuffered very much, and loſt a great many officers and ſoldiers. 1708

The 6th of October, about noon, 11 battalions, commanded by Brigadier Wertmuller, and 10 ſquadrons, commanded by Brigadier Siburg, marched from the army to Morſelle, to join 12 battalions and 10 ſquadrons that were encamped there under Major-General Webb and Count Naſſau-Woudenburg. The enemies had now conſiderably re-inforced their troops towards Bruges; and the Duke de Vendome was gone thither to put himſelf at the head of that army, which conſiſted of 60 battalions and 70 or 80 ſquadrons; but then they were encamped in ſeveral bodies, one at Wynendale, one at Ghiſtel, and others about Oudenburg, the better to cut off all communication with Oſtend. The ſame day, the battalions of Fagel, Dedem and Voogt returned to the camp at Ronc from Morſelle, being thoſe that ſuffered moſt in the late defeat of Count de la Motte. That evening, orders were given to the army to decamp in the night, with particular directions, that it ſhould march by the left, and paſs the Lys at Menin; and that the troops of different nations ſhould march an hour one after another, to prevent any confuſion, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpets. Accordingly they encamped the 7th at Rouſſelaer, having left in the camp of Ronc 20 ſquadrons, under Major-General le Lec and Brigadier Hoenderbeen, and 20 battalions under Major-General Hoendorff and Brigadier Rank, with directions to obey the orders of Prince Eugene, and march into the line of circumvallation: they left alſo four ſquadrons at Menin, to wait there for the empty waggons, and conduct them to the army, in order to be ſent to Oſtend, to bring another convoy of ammunition and proviſions. The baggage was left likewiſe at Menin. *Motions for ſecuring another convoy.*

Upon their arrival at the camp of Rouſſelaer, advice came that the Duke de Vendome was ſtill encamped

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Another fruitleſs alarm from the French.

encamped at Oudenburg, with the number of troops above-mentioned: whereupon the Duke of Marlborough reſolved to loſe no time, but to march in the night, in hopes to engage the enemy, or oblige them to quit that poſt, which was neceſſary for the paſſing of a freſh convoy. The Field-Deputies of the States, King Auguſtus, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, all ſet out from the camp before Liſle, in hopes of an action; which was the rather believed, becauſe the Duke de Vendome had written to the French King, that he engaged his honour that the Allies ſhould have no further communication with Oſtend. The ſame night the quarter-maſters of the army ſet out from Rouſſelaer, under a guard of 8 battalions, to ſecure ſuch poſts as they ſhould think convenient for facilitating the general march; and the 8th, about break of day, the whole army, conſiſting of 130 ſquadrons and 60 battalions, including the ſaid eight, marched by the left, and advanced to the heath of Wynendale, where they halted for ſome time, till his Grace had a confirmation of the advices he had received in the morning, that M. de Vendome had decamped before break of day with all imaginable precipitation from Oudenburg, and paſſed the canal of Bruges near that city. This being confirmed, my Lord Duke did not think fit to march any further, but encamped with his left to Ichtegem and Kokelaer, and his right near Torout. Part of the cavalry of the right marched back to Rouſſelaer, and the van-guard advanced near Oudenburg, of which it took poſſeſſion. The enemies broke down the dykes, and drowned in ſuch a manner the country about Oſtend, that there was a world of trouble for the waggons to paſs. The 9th, the army returned to Rouſſelaer, where it encamped in the ſame manner as it did two days before: but all the infantry of the ſecond line, commanded by Count Lottum, General of the

the Pruſſians, returned to Morſelle. The Duke de Vendome continued between Bruges and Plaſſendael behind the canal. 1708

That General, in order to prevent the arrival of any freſh convoys before Liſle, ordered the country on the other ſide of the canal of Newport to be drowned, in ſuch a manner, that it was not poſſible for carriages to paſs. To remedy this inconvenience, the Allies took up as many little boats at Oſtend as they could find, to carry the ammunition from Leffinghen (whither it was brought by waggons and troopers) over the drowned country, to ſuch places about Kokelaer, where the waggons from the army waited to carry it to the camp. A detachment of the enemy advanced to attack Leffinghen; but the cannon, from a fort erected there, obliged them to retire. They raiſed a battery on the other ſide of the canal, to batter that fort; and made uſe of it alſo to fire upon the boats which carried the ammunition over the drowned country, but did no manner of damage. This, for the preſent, was a great mortification to the enemy, who had, by the inundation of ſo great a tract of land, opened to the Allies a new and ſafe way for maintaining the communication with the grand army, as long as the waters were high enough for their boats, and they were maſters of Leffinghen. This determined M. de Vendome to leave no means untried for becoming maſter of that important poſt; and General Erle, being informed of the Marſhal's deſign, re-inforced the troops poſted there, and took all poſſible precautions to hinder the approach of 6 half-gallies from Newport, on which the enemy had embarked ſome land forces. That General alſo removed his camp nearer Fort-Albert, and poſted part of his troops on the Downs, that the enemy might not ſend any horſe at low-water, to attack his troops

The French drown the country, which proves of ſervice to the Allies.

1708 in the rear, while the infantry was to attack them in the front.

Freſh convoys of ammunition arrive. On the 14th, a convoy of 500 barrels of powder went through the camp at Rouſſelaer for Menin and Liſle, and the next day Major-General Cadogan ſent an officer to acquaint the Duke of Marlborough, that he had taken poſt with his detachment at Kokelaer, and expected a new convoy of ammunition over the drowned country; and that he had ſent a great many waggons as far as he could, to take in the ſaid ammunition, the country being not able to furniſh a ſufficient number of them. Upon this advice, the Duke of Marlborough thought fit to detach Lieutenant-General Fagel with 12 battalions and 20 ſquadrons, to poſt himſelf at Kortemarq, to ſuſtain Major General Cadogan, and ſecure the march of the convoy on that ſide. This precaution was judged neceſſary, becauſe of the repeated advices his Grace had received, that M. de Vendome deſigned to intercept that convoy; and as he had his troops in readineſs to advance on the canal of Bruges, my Lord Duke gave orders to his army to be ready to march at an hour's warning, either to ſecure the convoy, or ſupport the troops poſted at Leffinghen, in caſe the enemy undertook to diſlodge them from that important poſt. The 16th, Major-General Cadogan ſent advice, that the half-gallies from Newport were come upon the canal of that name, with land forces on board; by means whereof, the enemy had erected a battery on an iſland near the inundation, from whence they made a great fire, to cut off the communication with Leffinghen and Oſtend; but hitherto to no purpoſe. The 18th, his Grace went to Menin, to confer with the Prince of Savoy and the deputies of the States, on the affairs of the preſent conjuncture, and eſpecially in relation to the ſiege. And the next day the Duke of Marlborough received advice from Major-General Cadogan,

Cadogan, that he had got over the inundation a further ſupply of 1600 barrels of powder, and abundance of brandy, ſalt, and other proviſions, for the ſutlers of the army; but that the water was ſo much raiſed, that the way of communication would be for the future more difficult; and beſides, that the enemies had got a great many boats at Schipſtal near Bruges, for carrying of faſcines and gabions, to fortify themſelves in a convenient poſt, to hinder any communication with Leffinghen. 1708

I muſt not omit, that on the 18th, his excellency M. d' Auverquerque, Field-Marſhal of the forces of the States-General, departed this life, after a long indiſpoſition; which however did not hinder him from performing the functions of his great dignity. His death was univerſally lamented by the generals, and the whole army, and was juſtly accounted a great loſs to the States, and the Allies in general; for whoſe ſervice he had ſo eminently ſignalized his zeal and affection.

M. de Vendome beſieges Leffinghen.

The Duke de Vendome, at the head of 18,000 men and the 6 half-gallies, advanced in the night between the 15th and 16th inſtant, in order to attack Leffinghen, as a regular place. He was in hopes to take that poſt ſword in hand, and for that purpoſe ſent for 4000 grenadiers from the main army. He deſigned at the ſame time to attack the camp of General Erle, to give him a diverſion, and hinder him from ſupporting the troops poſted at Leffinghen. But the General, being informed of the enemy's deſigns, cauſed the ſeveral poſts he had on the Downs, between his camp and Newport, to be entrenched, and put a ſufficient number of troops therein; whereby he prevented the deſign of the Marſhal, who intended to ſend a body of horſe and foot at low-water to attack him in the flank, while the other troops were to attack him in front. They advanced the 18th in good order; but ſeeing the Confederate

1708 troops were ready to give them a warm reception, they durſt not attack them, but retired, contenting themſelves to beſiege Leſſinghen. They poſted themſelves on the other ſide of the canal, over-againſt the fort of earth that had been made there for ſecuring the bridges, and erected a battery, from whence they made a continual fire upon the ſaid fort. Their cannon however did little damage, but only prevented any farther communication with the grand army. They took poſt at the ſame time on the ſide of the canal, next the Allies, on a cauſey defended by the troops of the latter, and attacked a little fort, which Colonel Rapin defended for two days: but, ſeeing his retreat was like to be cut off, the General ſent him orders to retire to Leſſinghen, which he did in very good order in the night, having loſt not one man, notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy, who found that the inundation made by the cutting of the dykes had brought great inconveniences upon them.

An advantage gained by the Allies.

On the 20th, General Erle reſolved to attack the enemies on the other ſide of the canal; and 50 grenadiers of the Dutch regiment of Vanderbeck, with 50 of the regiment of Caris, commanded each by a captain, were detached for that purpoſe, ſupported by 200 Engliſh. Four grenadiers were ſent before, who pretended to be deſerters, and thereby amuſed the advanced-guard of the enemy; and the others coming up at the ſame time, they drove the enemy from that poſt and their firſt entrenchment, purſuing them into the ſecond, and ſeized their battery, where they continued for ſome time: but not being provided with nails, they could not nail up their cannon, and contented themſelves to throw them down and ſpoil the carriages. Capt. Clare, who commanded the 50 grenadiers of Caris, was killed, and the other Dutch captain was wounded thro' the body. The enemy loſt about 100 men in the at-

attack; and a Major-General was taken priſoner, with a Captain and about 40 private men. The Allies had, on their ſide beſides the two Dutch Captains 2 ſubalterns wounded, and 15 men killed and wounded. 1708

General Erle, ſeeing that the enemy advanced by the ſap on the cauſey near the fort of Leffinghen, cauſed a battery to be erected, to fire into their works, and at the ſame time poſted ſome troops as near as poſſible. By the fire of theſe, and the grenades thrown out of their cohorns, the enemy loſt in the night, between the 21ſt and 22d, 103 men. Mean time, the General ordered a new way to be made from his camp to Leffinghen; which the enemy perceiving, they ſent their half-gallies over the inundation, which made a continual fire both upon the fort and the way that led thither; notwithſtanding which, the troops poſted there were relieved the 24th, and freſh men put therein, under the command of Colonel Caulfield.

The taking of Leffinghen.

It was not till the 25th in the morning, after a regular ſiege of nine days ſince the opening of the trenches, that the village of Leffinghen, defended only by a ſmall earthen fort that was erected in two or three days, was obliged to ſurrender to the enemy. The French had ſix batteries of cannon and mortars, and ſeveral gallies and armed boats; and the Duke de Vendome, with an admiral, did not think it below them to command that ſiege in perſon; in which, perhaps, they had miſcarried, had the orders given by General Erle, for the defence of that poſt, been exactly complied with. The Engliſh troops, and the regiment of Vanderbeck, being exceedingly fatigued, it was thought fit to relieve them as abovementioned; and General Erle detached accordingly 675 men from his camp, and Colonel Caris, commander of Oſtend, detached 100 men from the regiment of Davila, and 120 of his own.

1708 own. Theſe troops relieved the former, notwithſtanding the great fire the enemy made upon them. The General, being informed that the enemy deſigned to attack that poſt the 25th, reinforced the troops that were in it with 150 men; and Colonel Caris ſent likewiſe another detachment of 109 men out of his garriſon. The enemy landed in the night, by means of their ſhips, 7 or 8000 men in a dry place behind the village, which it was impoſſible to drown; and about ſix in the morning they attacked a churchyard, wherein Colonel Caulfield, who commanded in Leffinghen, had poſted a guard of 150 men. Theſe men made but little reſiſtance, and retired in confuſion into the redoubt near the canal, which they ſurrendered, and were made priſoners of war. The enemies loſt in the ſiege of Leffinghen, 5 or 600 men.

Bravery of ſome officers. Some officers of the Allies diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner; and amongſt others, Colonel Rapin before-mentioned, of Dormer's regiment, and Major Douglaſs of Brigadier Liveſay's. The latter was commanded the 21ſt, with 100 Engliſh and Dutch grenadiers, to re-inforce the troops at Leffinghen; and having taken poſt in a garden, on the other ſide of the canal, with 50 grenadiers, he made ſuch a fire upon the enemy, that they could not carry on their approaches, and killed and wounded above 100 men that night. He maintained himſelf therein the 22d and 23d, when he was relieved. The enemies left a ſtrong detachment in Leffinghen: and the navigation of the canal being now free, they ſent a great many barks, with proviſions from Newport to Bruges, where they were very much wanted.

The loſs of this poſt muſt have been of bad conſequence to the Allies, if Marſhal Boufflers had not been before obliged to capitulate for the city of Liſle, which was evacuated the ſame day that

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that the poſt of Leſſinghen was taken. From that time the ſiege of the citadel was carried on with ſucceſs. The Duke of Marlborough ſent a great detachment to Dixmuyde, from whence they made excurſions into the bailiwicks of Furnes, Bergens, St. Vinox, and other diſtricts on that ſide, and obliged the inhabitants to bring corn and all other proviſions to the camp. The Earl of Stair commanded that detachment, and ſurpriſed a guard of 4 companies of French grenadiers, at a bridge between Dixmuyde and Newport, who were all taken priſoners.

The Earl of Stair raiſes contribution.

The Prince of Holſtein-Beck was made governor of Liſle; but, being indiſpoſed, he was obliged to go to Aix-la-Chapelle. The Duke of Burgundy continued at Tournay, where he held a great council of war, wherein M. Chamillard, M. de Chanlay, and ſeveral intendants were preſent. The chief point in debate was, whether they ſhould abandon Ghent and Bruges, which they could not maintain without vaſt charges. The opinions were divided, and M. Chamillard went back to the French court, to lay the affair before the Moſt Chriſtian King, and receive his further inſtructions. Moſt of the generals were of opinion to abandon thoſe two places; but the Count de Bergeick, and other Spaniſh miniſters and generals, oppoſed it; and pretended that ſuch a precedent would diſcourage all the ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The French debate whether they ſhall abandon Ghent and Bruges.

The Duke of Marlborough, having had notice, that the Elector of Bavaria was moving towards Bruſſels, recalled the troops that were in the diſtrict of Furnes, under General Fagel, who joined the army of Rouſſelaer the 22d of November, and brought two hoſtages with him, for the performance of an agreement made with the dependencies of Furnes, whereby they were to deliver 6000 ſacks of corn into the magazines of Menin. Mean time the enemies detached ſome troops from the bodies they had near Oudenarde and

His Grace marches to preſerve Bruſſels.

1708 and Ghent; and the dam which they were making near Gavre, to ſtop the courſe of the Scheld, in order to render the paſſage more difficult, was broke and carried away by the rapidity of the ſtream. This was welcome news to the Allies; for had the enemy ſucceeded in their deſign, the paſſing of the Scheld would have been attended with great difficulties. The approach of the Elector of Bavaria in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels being confirmed, the artillery and baggage were ſent from Rouſſelaer to Menin, and the army decamped the 25th, paſſed the Lys at Courtray, and the infantry arrived at Harlebeck the ſame day; but, by reaſon of the difficult roads, the cavalry could not reach the camp till the 26th. The army continued there till four in the afternoon, as well on account of the violent rains, as for giving time to Prince Eugene to come to the place appointed, with the troops from Liſle. That Prince, with 50 ſquadrons and 19 battalions, was to paſs the river between Eſcanaffe and Hauterive; the Duke of Marlborough and Count Tilly, with 100 ſquadrons and 50 battalions, at Kerkhoven, not far from Hauterive; and Count Lottum, with the Earl of Orkney, who had led a ſeparate detachment, between Gavre and Aſperen. Major-General Cadogan and Brigadier Evans were ſent before the Duke's diviſion, with 8 battalions, the pontons, and the light artillery, to lay bridges at Kerkhoven and Elſegen, where his Grace was to paſs.

Paſſes the Scheld. The army marched all night; and ſome time before day his Grace received advice, that Major-General Cadogan had not only cauſed the bridges to be laid in the places appointed, but had likewiſe taken poſt on the other ſide of the river, and put to flight a body of troops of the enemy, that were near that place. Hereupon the troops were ordered to march with all poſſible diligence; and, as they paſſed the river, they

they formed themſelves into order of battle. Prince Eugene, who arrived much about the ſame time at Hauterive, receiving advice, that Major-General Cadogan had taken poſt on the other ſide of the Scheld, did not think fit to loſe time in laying bridges there; but, according to what had been concerted before, that whatever body paſſed firſt, the other ſhould march to that place, his Highneſs marched immediately to Kerkhoven, and joined his Grace. 1708

The French fly before him.

From thence they advanced to Berchem, to attack the French under M. de Souternon; but they ran away with ſo much precipitation, that the Allies could not take above 5 or 600, and killed about 200. The cavalry of the States, which was at the head of the army, purſued the enemies to certain defiles, where they had poſted, for ſecuring their retreat, ſome infantry behind the hedges, from whence they made a great fire upon the Dutch troops; and it was on that occaſion, that Brigadier Baldwyn was ſhot thro' the body, and that the Earl of Albemarle and Count Maurice of Naſſau had their horſes wounded.

His Grace of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, marched then to attack the French troops entrenched on the hills of Oudenarde, under the command of M. de Hautefort; but the enemies, hearing this firing, abandoned that poſt with ſo much precipitation, that they could overtake but their rear, which was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and purſued till it began to be dark. They loſt a great deal of baggage, with their bread-waggons, two ſtandards, and a pair of kettle-drums. The army encamped the ſame night on the hills of Oudenarde; but part of the troops, which Prince Eugene brought with him, returned to Liſle. Count Lottum, with his detachment, paſſed with the ſame ſucceſs as the reſt of the army. La Motte, it muſt be owned, who commanded the French troops about Gavre, put a

better

1708 better face on it than the other generals; for he drew up his troops in line of battle: but Count Lottum, according to his orders, marched to join the Duke of Marlborough about Oudenarde, and encamped the 27th at Eyname.

The 28th, Prince Eugene, with the reſt of his troops, and a detachment of 8 battalions and 30 ſquadrons from the Grand army, returned to Liſle, and the 16 battalions under Count Lottum returned into the camp. The ſame morning Lieutenant-General Dompre, with 40 ſquadrons, marched towards Aloſt, being ordered to encamp between that place and Aſche, in order to relieve Bruſſels. My Lord Duke marched likewiſe to Ombergh, and took his quarters in a caſtle near Aloſt, where he received advice, that the Elector of Bavaria was retired the night before in great precipitation from before Bruſſels. The next day his Grace went to Bruſſels, where he was received with great acclamations of joy, and complimented by the States of Brabant, and the magiſtrates of the city, upon their deliverance. That Prince returned the ſame night to his camp near Aloſt, where the troops reſted the 30th.

The Elector of Bavaria quits the ſiege of Bruſſels.

The army marched the 1ſt of December, and encamped the left near Berlinghen, and the right near Oudenarde. Lieutenant-General Dedem paſſed the Scheld with 20 battalions, to be ready to join Lieutenant-General Hompeſch, who, with 38 ſquadrons, and 8 battalions, was poſted near Menin, to re-inforce, in caſe of need, the Prince of Savoy before Liſle. My Lord Duke being informed, that the garriſon of Aeth had ſurpriſed St. Guillain, a place between Mons and Conde, and that the enemies had ſent ſome troops to re-take that poſt, he ordered Lieutenant-General Dompre with a ſtrong detachment to relieve it: but that General hearing by the way, that the troops therein had ſurrender'd, he halted at Attre, and was ordered to bring from Aeth a great convoy of ammu-

ammunition deſigned for Liſle. The paſſing of the Scheld put the enemies into the utmoſt conſternation, and they retired thereupon towards Valenciennes. This paſſage without oppoſition, and the raiſing of the ſiege of this city, were indeed ſuch events, that few people durſt hope for. No ſuccours ever came more ſeaſonably: for the enemies, who had inveſted Bruſſels the 22d of November, began to batter it the 26th with their cannon and mortars, and in the night between the 26th and 27th attacked the covered-way, and got near into it; but were as often repulſed with a moſt terrible ſlaughter. The attack laſted 14 hours, during which the ſoldiers on both ſides, laying their muſkets aſide, fought ſword in hand. The action ceaſed the 27th, at ten in the morning; but the Allies expected to be attacked a ſecond time, about nine o'clock at night. The Elector of Bavaria, however, having received two expreſſes from Mons, retired in the night, leaving moſt of his artillery behind him, and 800 men wounded in Etterbeck, Ixelles, and Cameren. During this ſiege the enemy fired burning bullets into ſeveral parts of the city, in hopes thereby to excite a mutiny among the people.

1708

Account of the ſiege of Bruſſels.

The citadel of Liſle having ſurrendered, the Grand army marched the 11th from Berleghen to Melle. His Grace cauſed bridges to be laid over the Scheld, for the communication of the ſeveral bodies, which, according to a reſolution before taken, had inveſted Ghent. The neceſſary meaſures were ſoon concerted for carrying on the ſiege, and chiefly as to the forage, for the ſubſiſtence of the horſes; in conſequence of which it was ordered, that each ſquadron ſhould receive 180 rations a day, and each battalion 100.

The ſiege of Ghent reſolved on.

While they expected the artillery and other neceſſaries for the ſiege, Prince Eugene paſſed the Scheld at Eyname, and came to the camp, where a great council of war was held, at which a general

1708 neral of each nation, whereof the army was compoſed, aſſiſted. This council was ſoon over; and, according to the reſolutions taken therein, the Duke of Marlborough was to command the ſiege, and Prince Eugene to cover it. In order thereto, the Imperialiſts and Palatines, with 20 other ſquadrons, were ordered to paſs the Dender, and encamp at Gemareche. Count de Lottum, with 30 battalions and 30 ſquadrons, was appointed to inveſt it between the Upper Scheld and the Lys; and the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, with 30 battalions and 40 ſquadrons, was to do the like between the Lys and the canal of Bruges, and from thence to the canal of the Sas; the Duke of Wirtemberg, with 16 battalions and 25 ſquadrons, between Mulenſtein and the Lower Scheld; and the Count de Tilly, with 30 battalions and 30 ſquadrons, between the Lower and the Upper Scheld. My Lord Duke pitched his head quarters at Merlebeck, which lies almoſt in the center of the ſeveral attacks. Mean time the ſecretary of the city of Ghent came to the camp, to deſire a paſs for the magiſtrates to wait upon his Grace, in order to intreat him to ſpare their city, and not bombard it: but notwithſtanding a paſs was granted, and an audience given, their requeſt was rejected, unleſs they would take up arms againſt the French garriſon; which conſiſted of 27 battalions and 20 ſquadrons. The enemy had alſo 12 battalions and 8 or 10 ſquadrons in Bruges, and the reſt of their forces were diſperſed behind their lines, or cantoned in the villages.

Account of it. The Confederate troops having taken the neceſſary poſts about Ghent, and laid bridges of communication, the enemies made a ſhew of defending the bridge of Menleſlede on the canal; but quitted it upon the approach of the beſiegers. The taking of that poſt facilitated the communication with the troops poſted between that ca-

nal

nal and that of Bruges. On the 20th, in the even- 1708
ing, they took poſt near the caſtle, and attacked a guard of 30 men commanded by a lieutenant, which the enemy had without the gate of Gavre. All the men were put to the ſword, except the officer, who was taken priſoner. The trenches were opened the 24th, at the attack commanded by General Lottum, between the Scheld and the Lys. Two thouſand workmen, covered by 7 battalions, and 2 more in reſerve, with 600 horſe, were ordered for that ſervice, under the command of Lieutenant-General Fagel, Major-General Weck, and the Lord North and Grey, Brigadier. The pioneers worked about half an hour before the enemy diſcovered them; but then they made a moſt terrible fire, whereby near 30 men were killed, and about 70 wounded. They nevertheleſs carried on their works with good ſucceſs, from St. Peter's Gate towards Fort Monterey, and finiſhed a parallel of 1000 paces, from the right to the left, within 200 paces of the counterſcarp. The 25th, at night, the trenches were opened at the Duke of Wirtemberg's attack, with 4 battalions, and 600 horſe, commanded by Major-General Murray, which covered 1400 pioneers. This attack was directed againſt the caſtle. They finiſhed a parallel of 750 paces, within 150 paces of the paliſades, and had in that attack but 10 men killed and wounded. The ſame night, and much about the ſame time, they opened the trenches before the Bruſſels-Gate, between the Upper and Lower Scheld, with 4 battalions, commanded by Brigadier Evans. Here were 600 workmen, who carried on their works with a great deal of ſucceſs, and made a communication without any loſs: but the works on the right being very difficult, and time as well as faſcines being wanting to finiſh them, the garriſon made a ſalley with 10 companies of grenadiers. They put the firſt troops into ſome confuſion; and, while Brigadier Evans was bring-

1708 ing the next battalions to ſupport the former, he was taken priſoner, with Colonel Grove, of the Lord North and Grey's regiment. About 20 officers and ſoldiers were here killed or taken: but the enemy retired upon the firſt firing of the Confederate troops, and had not time to level any works. The brigadier, and all the officers, except ſuch as were wounded, came back immediately to the camp upon their parole. On the 26th, their batteries began to fire upon the Red-Fort, between Ghent and the Sas; and the garriſon there, conſiſting of 200 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war.

The governor capitulates. All the approaches being carried on with a great deal of ſucceſs, and the batteries being ready to fire, the 30th, with red-hot bullets, and the mortars to throw bombs and carcaſſes into the town, Count La Motte ſent out a trumpet on the 29th, with a letter to his Grace, to deſire him that ſome officers might come to attend him. This being granted, the Prince of Iſenghien, Brigadier Cano, and M. d'Aubigny, a Colonel, came to his Grace's quarters, and offered to ſurrender the town and caſtle in four days, if they were not relieved, upon condition that they ſhould march out with all the marks of honour. My Lord Duke agreed to theſe conditions, and ſent back the officers, with orders to return the next day at ſix o'clock in the morning with a poſitive anſwer; and, in the mean time, the batteries were forbid to fire. They returned accordingly, with a numerous deputation from the clergy, magiſtrates, and burghers; and the articles of the capitulation were agreed upon, and hoſtages given for the execution of them. The capitulation of the magiſtrates was for their own privileges; the chief purport of which was, to preſerve the exerciſe of their religion, the revenues and immunities of all religious houſes, perſons, and foundations, as well as all the privileges which the city enjoyed

in

in the reign of Charles II. It was alſo provided, that the preſent officers of the government ſhould be removed, or ſtill enjoy their places, as ſhould be thought moſt for the ſervice of King Charles III: but that all hereditary employments, and hereditary rights to employments, ſhould continue in the ſame perſons who held them in the former reign; and that all engagements relating to publick credit ſhould be inviolably obſerved. 1708

The Duke enters Ghent.

On the 2d of January the garriſon of Ghent marched out with 6 pieces of cannon, and the uſual marks of honour. Next morning the Duke of Marlborough, after having viewed the approaches, went into the city, and was received at the gate of St. Liven, by the magiſtrates in their formalities, who preſented him with the keys of the town in a gilt baſon. He was conducted through a line of burghers to the town-houſe, where there was a magnificent entertainment, and the evening concluded with extraordinary illuminations. The French quitted Bruges on New-Year's-Day, and the magiſtrates came the day after to make their ſubmiſſion. Prince Eugene went the next morning for Bruſſels, where the Duke of Marlborough repaired to him the 4th, in order to proceed with him to the Hague.

Goes to the Hague.

Upon the ſurrender of Ghent, the enemies quitted not only Bruges, but Plaſſendael and Leſſinghen, and retired into their own territories: and the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, having ſettled the Winter-quarters for the Confederate troops, ſet out from Bruſſels the 9th of January for the Hague, having left all the army under the command of the Count de Tilly, General of the Dutch forces.

The Duke ſtays in the Netherlands.

Having concerted with the States the projects for the next campaign, and the moſt proper meaſures for preſerving the countries conquered in the Netherlands; it was judged neceſſary, that one of theſe two great men ſhould continue in thoſe pro-

1708 vinces part of the Winter, to be ready to aſſemble all the Confederate troops in caſe of need, to oppoſe the enterpriſes of the enemy. My Lord Duke having offered to remain there till the return of Prince Eugene, who ſet out the 20th of January for Vienna, to lay the concerted meaſures before the Emperor, his Grace departed the 25th for Bruſſels, to watch the motions of the enemy, who ſeemed to have ſome enterpriſes in view during the hard froſt: but his preſence obliged them to remain quiet. While he was here, the Commons of Great-Britain, impatient of delaying their thanks, unanimouſly reſolved, "That being truly "ſenſible not only of the great ſervices performed "by the Duke, the laſt ſucceſsful campaign, ſo "much to the honour of Great-Britain, and ad-"vantage of all Europe, but alſo of the indefati-"gable zeal he perſevered in, for the ſervice of "the common cauſe abroad, while he might with "reaſon expect to be received with all the marks "of honour and ſatisfaction at home, they did, "with a juſt regard to his glorious actions, return "him the thanks of their houſe." This reſolution was accordingly ſent him by Sir Richard Onſlow, the ſpeaker; to which his Grace returned a very obliging anſwer from Bruſſels.

Where he receives thanks of the Engliſh Commons.

Soon after, having ſettled affairs in that city, his Grace went again to the Hague; and having agreed with the States for an augmentation of forces, both by the Queen and their High Mightineſſes, and taken another tour to Bruſſels, he came over to England in March. When he arrived, and took his place in the Houſe of Lords, the Lord Chancellor Cowper addreſs'd him thus:

The Lord Chancellor's ſpeech to him after his arrival in England.

My Lord Duke of Marlborough,

"I Have the honour to be again commanded "by this Houſe, to give your Grace their "moſt hearty and unanimous thanks for the "great and eminent ſervices you have performed

"this

" this laſt campaign, particularly to her Majeſty 1708
" and her kingdoms, and in general to all the
" Allies.

" When I laſt obeyed the like commands, I " could not but infer from your Grace's former " ſucceſſes, we had ſtill moſt reaſonable expecta- " tions, that you could not fail to improve them.

" I beg leave to congratulate your Grace, that " the obſervation then made has proved, as in- " deed it was intended, perfectly true.

" I hope I ſhall not be thought to exceed my " preſent commiſſion, if being thus led to con- " template the mighty things your Grace has done " for us, I cannot conclude without acknowledg- " ing, with all gratitude, the providence of God " in ſo critical a juncture, when it was ſo much " wanted."

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK VI.

Containing the Tranſactions of the Campaign in the Year 1709, *and the ſubſequent Negotiations of Peace.*

1709

Recapitulation of the year 1708.

THE French having, in the year 1707, gained great advantages in Spain, and in particular won the battle of Almanza; having penetrated once more into Germany, and ſtopped the progreſs of the Allies in the Netherlands, reſolved, in the year 1708, to make an utmoſt effort for retrieving their loſſes and the honour of their arms: but the forces of Great-Britain

Britain being an invincible obſtacle to their deſigns, they reſolved upon an enterpriſe (the expedition of the King of St. Germains into Scotland) which if it had ſucceeded, would have proved a great diverſion to the Britiſh forces. The French King, if we may believe his own words, in his letter to the Pope, had always had that deſign in view, but never found any favourable conjuncture before to put it in execution: But now he thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that he notified to all the neutral courts in Europe, and even to the Turks, the departure of the Pretender, and his expedition into Scotland, as if they were ſure it could not miſcarry. The miniſters of France ſpoke ſtill more poſitively than their maſter: they communicated ſham liſts of the Lords and gentlemen who had invited over that Prince, and ſpoke of a revolution in Britain, rather as of a thing already accompliſhed, than of an event which they expected.

1709

The Pretender's Expedition.

From all this it appears very plain, that either they had encouragement to venture upon ſo great an enterpriſe with a handful of men; or that they deſigned, by that expedition, to kindle a civil war in Britain, to oblige the Queen to recall moſt of her forces from the Netherlands, and keep at home the fleet under Sir John Leake, deſigned for the ſupport of King Charles in the Streights; which would have opened a way for the French to have recover'd the Spaniſh Netherlands, to inſult the frontiers of the Dutch, and diſpoſe them to a ſeparate peace, while the Elector of Bavaria was to penetrate into Germany, and the Duke of Orleans to invade Catalonia, where K. Charles was reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that Barcelona itſelf had been in danger, if the Confederate fleet had been hindred from bringing any ſuccours to that Prince. This was the project of the enemy in the beginning of the campaign, the reaſon why the Duke of Burgundy was ſent to command in the Netherlands,

Motives of it

1709

Netherlands, and the grounds of their great expectations upon that account.

Succeſs.

I have related all the neceſſary meaſures that were taken for preventing theſe deſigns; how a fleet was fitted out with almoſt an incredible expedition, without detaining that which was deſigned for the Streights: which prevented the landing of the enemies in Scotland, and took one of their beſt ſhips: ſo that the Pretender, having contented himſelf to take a view of the coaſt of Scotland, returned to Dunkirk; and the French, inſtead of the great advantages they expected from that expedition, loſt ſome thouſands of men, who periſhed on board the ſhips wherein they were crowded, and juſtly forfeited the credit they ſtill had in ſome courts of Europe. The diverſion they gave to the Britiſh forces was very inconſiderable, only 10 battalions having been brought over from the Netherlands, which were ſpeedily ſent back with further re-inforcements. Thus vaniſhed into ſmoke that vaunted expedition, which drew the eyes of all the world upon Great Britain.

The campaign in Spain.

This was the great preliminary of that campaign, of which the particular events, beſides thoſe related in the preceeding book, were as follow: The Duke of Orleans, having aſſembled his forces near Lerida, formed the ſiege of Tortoza, (notwithſtanding the diſappointment he met with by the taking of a great number of Tartanes, which fell in with the fleet commanded by Sir John Leake) and that place was ſoon reduced: but Count Stahremberg, being re-inforced by ſome troops from Italy, covered the reſt of Catalonia, while the Prince of Darmſtadt defended it on the ſide of Rouſſillon; inſomuch that, after a long campaign, the Duke of Orleans was obliged to repaſs the Segra, not being able to take up his winter quarters in Catalonia, nor to hinder King Charles from making detachments to aſſiſt the

Confederate

Confederate fleet in the reduction of Sardinia and Minorca, which was effected with a ſucceſs that exceeded expectation. The town and caſtle of Denia, which made the year before a noble defence, were obliged to ſurrender to the enemy; and the Allies quitted the town of Alicant, and retired into the caſtle. 1709

In Piedmont. The campaign began late in Piedmont, by reaſon of the bad weather: but in a very ſhort time the Duke of Savoy, who the year before had failed in his attempt on Toulon, conquered Exilles and Feneſtrelles, two keys of Italy; which it would have been impoſſible to take, if that Prince had not made the French believe he intended to march into Savoy. This obliged them to ſend their forces that way, and afforded his royal highneſs an opportunity to make a ſudden countermarch, and ſecure ſuch poſts as were abſolutely neceſſary for covering the ſieges of Exilles and Feneſtrelles.

On the Rhine. For the better underſtanding of the tranſactions on the Rhine, it is neceſſary to remind the reader that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough being arrived at the Hague, ſet out for Hanover, to take meaſures with the Elector of that name, for putting the projected deſigns in execution. It was reſolved, that moſt of the Imperial troops, with the Saxons and Heſſians in the pay of Great-Britain and Holland, and the body the Elector of Palatine was to furniſh in conſideration of the ceſſion of the upper Palatine, ſhould march for the Netherlands under Prince Eugene, to act in concert with the Britiſh and Dutch forces, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. According to this diſpoſition, the army of the empire on the Rhine was very inconſiderable: But the Elector reſigning, in favour of the common cauſe, the laurels which he might juſtly have promiſed himſelf, repaired to the Rhine with very indifferent troops, ill paid and ill provided: Yet

he

1709 he not only diſappointed the deſign the Elector of Bavaria had formed to penetrate into Germany, but hindred him from making any detachments to re-inforce the Duke of Burgundy in the Netherlands. What was done in this latter country, the main ſcene of action, has been fully related in the hiſtory of that year, as given in this work, and in *The Life of Prince Eugene*. The campaign in Portugal produced nothing that deſerves to be remember'd, except that the Spaniards abandoned Serpa and Moura.

Tranſactions at ſea. As to ſea affairs this year: Sir George Bing, having prevented the deſigns of the enemy upon Scotland, returned with his fleet to Spithead, where taking on board a body of land forces, commanded by General Erle, he proceeded to the French coaſt; and after making a feint to land in the bay of Boulogne, ſailed to the bay of Eſtaples, where General Erle landed: but upon the arrival of an expreſs from England, with an account of the alteration of ſome meaſures that had been concerted in Flanders, the troops returned on board, and the fleet proceeded to the coaſt of Normandy; where continuing about 14 days, it put that country into an unſpeakable conſternation, and drew a great number of ſoldiers to La Hogue. The fleet, having nothing elſe to do, returned to Spithead; and ſhortly after Sir George Bing, having on board the Queen of Portugal, ſailed for Liſbon, to command the Britiſh fleet in the Streights.

The ſame year commodore Wager, with three men of war and a fireſhip, engaged in the Weſt-Indies the Spaniſh galleons, and other ſhips, conſiſting of 14 ſail, blew up the Admiral, took the rear-Admiral, and obliged the vice-Admiral, with the reſt, to return into Carthagena, except one galleon which was ſtranded. This proved a great diſappointment to the enemy; for, beſides the money taken or loſt, the galleons were unloaded

loaded at Carthagena, and M. du Caſſe, after having tarry'd near a year for them at the Havanna, was obliged to return home with the Flotilla from Vera Cruz. 1709

Beſides theſe diſaſters abroad, the finances of France were in the utmoſt diſorder; their chief bankers broke, and the magiſtrates of Lyons were obliged to put off, for a month, the payment of their bills of exchange. The mint bills and farmers notes had loſt all their credit; eſpecially ſince a project they had formed of a bank, for circulating and paying them off, had miſcarried. Theſe difficulties, and the diſcouragement of their troops, obliged the court to think ſeriouſly of peace, as the only means to prevent the total ruin of France. Accordingly, they made ſome overtures to the Allies, which were not altogether unreaſonable; and the preſident de Rouille obtained leave to come for Holland, in order to ſettle the preliminaries of a treaty. That gentleman being arrived at Antwerp, the States-General appoined Meſſieurs Buys and Vander-Duſſen, the former penſioner of Amſterdam, and the latter of Gouda, to have a conference with him at Moerdyke; upon the report of which, he was permitted to go to Woerden, a place between Leyden and Utrecht, to be near at hand for the conferences. There the deputies of the States had another conference with him, wherein he offered the preliminaries of a general peace.

Domeſtic diſtreſſes of France.

Preſident de Rouille comes to Holland, to treat of peace.

Theſe preliminaries were, "That the Duke "of Anjou ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to "the Spaniſh monarchy, and all the dominions "thereof, except Naples and Sicily, which he "ſhould keep to himſelf: that, in regard to the "Empire, the treaty of Ryſwick ſhould be re-"ſtored: that for a further ſecurity to the "States, ſome frontier places in the Netherlands "ſhould be yielded to them, the better to "ſtrengthen their barrier: and laſtly, that the "Duke

Offers preliminaries.

1709

" Duke of Savoy ſhould be reſtored to the " Dutchy of that name, to Nizza, and to Villa " Franca; and the Electors of Cologn and Ba- " varia to their eſtates and dignities." The deputies of the States told M. de Rouille, that they were appointed to hear what he had to ſay, but not to propoſe any thing, and promiſed to report the conferences to the States, and deliver him an anſwer with all convenient ſpeed: they urged him to deliver theſe propoſals in writing; but he declared, that he had no orders to do it.

The Duke and P. Eugene at the Hague.

Prince Eugene, who had full power of the Emperor for all things relating to war and peace, arrived at Bruſſels the 27th of March, and the 8th of April came to the Hague, where the Duke of Marlborough arrived the next day. Thoſe Princes had a long conference with the penſionary and other deputies of the States, wherein they debated the propoſals made on the part of France, which were not judged large enough to be the ground of a treaty of peace. According to this reſolution, the deputies of the States returned an anſwer to M. Rouille, importing, " That his " overtures were not ſatisfactory," without entering into any particulars. The miniſter ſent a gentleman to Verſailles for new inſtructions, who was diſpatched back the 15th of April, and arrived in Holland the 18th. The ſame day the penſionary of Holland, with ſeven other deputies of the States had a conference with the Duke of Marlborough: after which the Duke ſet out again for England, in order to take the ſentiments of the miniſtry there, and to get ſome other plenipotentiary aſſociated with him in the future negotiations, that all the burthen, both of peace and war, might not lie upon him alone. Mean time the troops of the Allies were ordered to prepare themſelves to take the field, and all ſuch captains of the States as had not their companies compleat by the 20th of April, were to be caſhiered. Their

His Grace returns to England.

High-

1709

High Mightineſſes ordered all their dragoons, and 84 battalions of their infantry, to be in readineſs to march at an hour's warning. The troops of the Allies this year, in the Netherlands only, were to amount to 160,000 effective men: and the Duke of Marlborough was reported to have ſaid, That the peace was to be treated of in France by 150,000 plenipotentiaries.

A famine in France.

The ſcarcity of proviſions, all this while, was ſo univerſal in France, that the whole kingdom cried out for bread and peace. The Dauphin, going to the opera, ſaw his coach ſurrounded by a multitude of men, women, and children, repreſenting their miſery, and ſhewing them a kind of coarſe bread made of ſeveral ſorts of corn: at which that Prince was ſo moved, that he could ſcarce refrain from tears; and cauſed all the money he had about him, and what he could borrow from his retinue, to be diſtributed amongſt them. Tho' the government took all imaginable care for preventing inſurrections, the populace plundered ſeveral markets at Paris, under the noſe of the magiſtrates, and abuſed the guards. Two of the chief leaders were taken up, and ſentenced to death; but their companions boldly declaring to the Lieutenant-General of the Police, that they would revenge their death upon him, he did not think fit to proceed to an execution, and the King granted them a pardon. The diſorders were ſtill greater in the provinces remote from the court: the country people, leaving their habitations, formed ſeveral bodies too great to be diſperſed, and lived altogether upon plunder. Theſe calamities, and the great preparations of the Allies to invade France, obliged the Moſt Chriſtian King to redouble his efforts to obtain peace: for which purpoſe he ſent to the Hague the Marquis de Toroy, miniſter and ſecretary of State, to confirm what M. Rouille had offered in his name, and to make further propoſals.

1709

M. de Torcy goes to the Hague.

M. de Torcy, being arrived at the Hague, went to viſit the penſionary, who told him that he could not confer with him, without leave of the States. Their High Mightineſſes thereupon thought fit, that the ſaid penſionary, and Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, who had hitherto managed the conferences with M. Rouille, ſhould meet the Marquis de Torcy, and hear what he had to propoſe. That miniſter accordingly offered propoſals; but the deputies of the States told him, that they could not return him any anſwer, till they knew the ſentiments of the Queen of Great-Britain by the Duke of Marlborough, who was hourly expected. Mean time Prince Eugene being informed, of the arrival of that French miniſter, repaired immediately to the Hague, and, in his conferences with the penſionary, had the ſatisfaction to receive new aſſurances, that the States would, upon no private conſiderations whatever, depart from the general intereſt of the grand alliance.

The Duke returns to the Hague.

The Duke of Marlborough, after having weathered a ſtorm, landed at the Brill the 17th of May, accompanied by the Lord Townſend. He arrived the 18th at the Hague, and immediately ſent his ſecretary to notify his arrival to the preſident of the States and the grand penſionary. The ſame day the Marquis de Torcy came to his Grace, and was about two hours with him, and the Lord Townſend, who came over in the character of embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Great-Britain. The 19th, M. de Torcy was at the levee of his Grace; and on the 20th, Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord Townſend, returned the viſit. The ſame morning a conference was held, in which the French miniſters declared, "That their maſ-

Propoſals on the part of France.

"ter conſented to the demoliſhing of Dunkirk,
"to abandon the Pretender of St. Germains, and
"other articles inſiſted on by Great-Britain; and
"likewiſe to renounce all pretenſions to the

"Spaniſh

" Spaniſh monarchy: and laſtly, that he would " quit ſuch places as ſhould be thought neceſſary " for the barrier demanded by the States, as " Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Liſle, Conde, " Maubeuge, &c. In regard to the Empire, they " offered to reſtore all things as they were ſettled " by the treaty of Ryſwick, and to demoliſh the " fortifications of Straſburg." The Allies inſiſted on ſome other articles, particularly the reſtitution of Upper and Lower Alſatia to the Empire. Whereupon the French miniſters declared, " That they had no power to make any farther " conceſſions;" broke up the conference, and went to the penſionary to deſire paſſes to return home. They ſent again for them in the morning, declaring they could ſtay no longer: but upon ſecond thoughts, and the repreſentations of a neutral miniſter, they conſented to have another conference. 1709

Several unſucceſsful conferences.

M. de Torcy went alone the 21ſt to the grand penſionary's, to agree about that conference, which was held at ſix o' clock in the evening; and notwithſtanding the French miniſters had affirmed the day before, that they could not enlarge their offers, they propoſed to ſurrender Straſburg in the ſame condition as it was at preſent. The Allies were not contented with theſe further propoſals, and another conference was appointed for the 22d in the morning, which proved likewiſe unſucceſsful. The French declared, that they were reſolved to go away; and the better to perſuade people that they were in earneſt, they took their leave of Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and the miniſters of the neutral Princes: but ſome of the latter perſuaded them to put off their departure, which they readily conſented to; and another conference was held the 23d, which laſted from nine o'clock till half an hour paſt one in the afternoon. They began to ſet down in writing ſome articles, and it was agreed to meet again

1709 about ſix in the evening; before which M. de Torcy promiſed to write to his maſter about the difference relating to Alſatia. They debated in the evening an important article, relating to the ſecurity of the execution of the points agreed upon: but this conference broke up without any ſucceſs, tho' it laſted till eleven o'clock. The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Lord Townſend, did not continue there ſo long, but left it to the deputies of the States to debate theſe articles. There was another conference the 24th, which began at nine o' clock, between the deputies of the States and the French miniſters; and as ſoon as it was over, the former went to give an account of it to the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene; who, having ſome important affairs to ſettle, could not be preſent. The ſame day in the evening there was another, which laſted very long. They reſumed therein the debate relating to the ſecurity of the execution of the articles agreed upon, and chiefly as to the evacuation of all the Spaniſh dominions. The Allies demanded ſeveral towns for their ſecurity, and the French refuſed to give any; inſiſting, that the engagement the Moſt Chriſtian King entered into, to recall his troops from Spain, and his promiſe to give no manner of aſſiſtance to King Philip, was alone ſufficient; and that King Philip, being thus forſaken by his grandfather, would be obliged to quit Spain, eſpecially becauſe the Spaniards would then certainly declare for King Charles. This occaſioned warm debates; but at laſt it was agreed, that France ſhould deliver ſome places in the Netherlands, that were to be part of the barrier, before they entered upon the general negotiations of peace, by way of preliminary.

Debate concerning the ſecurity for K. Philip's abdication.

The two following days, his Grace, Prince Eugene, the Lord Townſend, and Count Zinzendorf, had ſeveral conferences with the grand penſionary

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ſionary and the deputies of the States; wherein they gave a full account, to the new Imperial plenipotentiary, of what had been tranſacted ſince the overture of theſe negotiations; and they agreed upon the further demands that were to be made to the French miniſters. In purſuance of this, there was a conference held the 27th at ten o'clock, wherein Count Zinzendorf aſſiſted for the firſt time. Meſſieurs de Torcy and Rouille deſired ſome time to conſider their demands, and promiſed to return an anſwer at ſix in the evening, when a conference was accordingly held at the grand penſionary's, which continued till two in the morning. After many diſputes, all the preliminaries, conſiſting of 40 articles, were agreed upon. They appointed another conference between nine and ten, when they re-examined again the ſaid articles, which were ſet down in writing, and ſigned by the miniſters of the Allies, but not by thoſe of France. Both ſides took copies of them, and M. de Torcy ſet out at four in the afternoon for Verſailles, to communicate them to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and engaged to procure the ratification of them within ten days.

Preliminaries agreed on.

On the 5th of June, the preſident de Rouille received an expreſs from France: and ſome time after he had a conference at the grand penſionary's with the Imperial and Britiſh plenipotentiaries, and the deputies of the States; wherein he acquainted them, that the Moſt Chriſtian King could not ratify ſome articles agreed to in the conferences lately held with M. de Torcy. He offered ſeveral reaſons, which had been alledged in former conferences, and endeavoured to perſuade them, that thoſe terms were ſo hard, that it was not to be expected that his maſter ſhould comply therewith. The miniſters of the Allies had immediately a conference amongſt themſelves, in which it was agreed to ſignify to M. de Rouille to depart in 24 hours: but the 6th in the morning

The French King refuſes to ſign them.

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ing he made a visit to the Duke of Marlborough, and proposed another conference, which was held the same evening. Nothing material however was transacted in it, except that the Allies declared to M. Rouille, that they would not recede from any one of the articles agreed to; and that if his master did not think fit to comply therewith, the Allies would not think themselves bound by the said articles, or restrain their pretensions to the contents of them after the 15th instant, the time allowed by the said articles. The French minister pretended, that he had no orders to make any further declaration, and received a second intimation to depart. He desired, however, one more conference; but that produced no more than the former. The French King excepted in particular against five articles; which, as the whole affair came to nothing, we think it needless to recite.

The grand pensionary having made a report, to the assembly of the States, of the declaration made by the president Rouille, their High Mightinesses took a resolution worthy of their firmness and wisdom; importing, "That as the preliminaries aforesaid were the only conditions "on which they thought a sure peace could be "grounded, they did not think fit to recede in "the least from any one of them." And the president de Rouille, being pressed to own if he had any secret orders tending to peace, declared, that if the Allies would content themselves with the calling of the French troops out of Spain, without insisting on the delivering up of the Spanish monarchy, he thought his Majesty would be induced to depart from the other exceptions. But the recovery of the Spanish monarchy from the French being at that time, in the opinion of all the Allies, the only means to restore the ballance of Europe, the ministers of the Allies did not think fit to depart from any one of the articles they

The conferences broke off.

they had agreed upon; and ſo M. de Rouille took his leave, and ſet out for Rotterdam; from whence he embarked on board a yacht for Moerdyke, to return home. 1709

The ſame day, being the 10th of June, all the miniſters of the Allies were deſired to meet in a congreſs, wherein the grand penſionary gave them a full account of all the ſteps that had been made in the negotiations; eſpecially ſince the French King had refuſed to agree to the preliminaries; and the preſident of the ſecret affairs ſpoke on the ſubject with a great deal of warmth, deſiring their excellencies to give an account to their reſpective maſters of theſe unfair proceedings of France, and exhort them to redouble their efforts againſt an enemy, who could never be brought to reaſon but by force. Count Zinzendorf took this opportunity to tell the deputies of the States, that the Empire, the Emperor, and King Charles III. would doubtleſs expreſs their ſatisfaction for the great firmneſs their High Mightineſſes had manifeſted in the courſe of theſe negotiations. The Duke of Marlborough gave the ſame aſſurances on the part of the Queen of Great-Britain; as did alſo the reſt of the miniſters on the part of their reſpective maſters; and all ſignified to the grand penſionary, how much the Allies were obliged to him, and ſatisfied with the prudence and wiſdom he had expreſſed in the negotiations; which, contrary to the expectation of the enemy, proved a new cement to the grand alliance.

Account of theſe negotiations given to the miniſters of the Allies.

In a word, the miniſters of the Allies, and the chief members of the united State, were full of reſentment againſt Lewis XIV, and the people in general were ſo thoroughly convinced of the inſincerity and ill deſigns of France, in treating, that all their thoughts and deſires, which had before inclined towards a peace, were on a ſudden turned towards proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour, as the only way to get happily out

of

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of it. The Duke of Marlborough, as ſoon as the conferences were over, ſet out from the Hague for Antwerp, and from thence to Bruſſels, where he joined Prince Eugene. Theſe two Princes loſt no time to aſſemble the Confederate troops, and arrived at Liſle the 18th of June.

Marlborough and Eugene ſet out for the army.

The army takes the field.

The forces, being aſſembled about Courtray and Menin, marched the 22d towards Liſle. The 23d, the right wing, under Prince Eugene, paſſed the Lower Deule; and at the ſame time the left, under the Duke of Marlborough, paſſed the Marc, and the army encamped in the plain of Liſle, on both ſides the Upper Deule. Orders were ſent to the field-artillery at Menin to come to Liſle, and an expreſs was diſpatched to Lieutenant-General Dompre, who was left with a flying-camp near Aloſt, to join the army with all ſpeed. The 24th the quarter-maſters General went out with 1200 horſe, to view the ground between the Confederate army and the enemies, and the ſituation of their camp, and obſerved that they were ſtrongly poſted, and perfecting their entrenchments with all poſſible application. Their left and right were covered by moraſſes, and their front by ſome villages which they had fortified. The 25th, Lieutenant General Dopft went out with another detachment, to take a narrow view of the enemy; and upon his report, and that of Major-General Cadogan, there was a council of war held, to take proper meaſures for attacking them: but the generals at laſt did not think fit to go upon that enterpriſe, conſidering the advantageous ſituation of their camp, and reſolved, without more loſs of time, to beſiege Tournay.

This reſolution was kept very private, and the next night, when the army decamped from the banks of the Deule, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, the baggage being ſent away to Liſle, every one thought they were marching to attack the enemy, and were ſurpriſed, when on a ſud-

a ſudden they turned to the left, and arrived before Tournay, which was a few hours after inveſted; inſomuch that the enemy could have no notice of the deſign, nor any time to put any re-inforcements into the place. The garriſon conſiſted of 12 reduced battalions, and 5 regiments of dragoons. The Duke of Marlborough made the ſame night two detachments, one to ſurpriſe St. Amand, a place on the Scarpe; and another to ſurpriſe Mortagne, a poſt where the Scarpe falls into the Scheld. The enemies, who had 700 men in St. Amand, retired upon the approach of the Confederate troops to Valenciennes, inſomuch that the detachment took poſt therein without any oppoſition. Mortagne met with the ſame fate, and the Prince of Naſſau left a detachment in each of thoſe places. 1709 *Tournay inveſted.*

The heavy artillery, which had been ſent back from Menin to Ghent, was ordered to join the army with all poſſible ſpeed, and the generals made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the ſiege. When the troops deſigned to carry it on, being 30 battalions and 30 ſquadrons on each ſide the Scheld, took poſt near the town, the governor, obſerving their motions, burned the ſuburbs. At the ſame time, the ſeveral attempts the enemies made to throw re-inforcements into the town, was a ſufficient confirmation to the Allies, that he wanted men. Pioneers were ſummoned out of the neighbouring countries, who being for the moſt part arrived, and other preparations in a readineſs, the trenches were opened the 7th of July at night with good ſucceſs, and almoſt without any loſs in the three attacks reſolved upon. They were commanded by three generals of the infantry; Count Lottum, General of the Pruſſians, againſt the citadel; General Schulemburg, of the Saxons, againſt the town on the ſide of Menin; and General Fagel on the ſide of the river, towards Aeth. The approaches were that night carried *The trenches opened.*

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carried on in the two former attacks about 300 paces; but the latter proved more difficult, and they could not advance above 200.

Marſhal Villars, who commanded the French army this year, continued encamped near Lens, whence he made a detachment to retake Warneton and Commines on the Lys, and the Red-Fort. Of which the Duke of Marlborough having advice, his Grace ſent a detachment, under the command of a Heſſian Lieutenant-General, to relieve thoſe poſts. But Warneton being almoſt without defence, a detachment of 700 men, that were therein, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The other two poſts, being in a better poſture of defence, held out till the arrival of the ſuccours, when the enemy retired with precipitation.

Warneton taken by the enemy.

The Marquis de Surville, Lieutenant-General, who was wounded in the ſiege of Liſle, commanded in Tournay: and M. Megrigni, who, as firſt engineer, had the direction of the fortifications of the citadel, was governor of it. The chief ſtrength of the fortifications conſiſted in the great number of miners made under them: ſo that, notwithſtanding 160 pieces of artillery, of which above 100 were 24 pounders, and 60 mortars, that were employed on the beſiegers batteries, there was found great occaſion for ſaping; for which ſervice miners were ſent from Liſle, and others from Maeſtricht, and with them M. du Mey the engineer, who was director of one of the attacks againſt the town of Liſle. In the mean time a detachment of French troops from the Rhine joined the Marſhal de Villars: and that General, who continued in his former camp, detached 15 or 16000 men to take poſt between Doway and Marchienne on the Scarpe, to cover the pioneers, who were to work on a line from Doway to Conde.

Strength of Tournay.

The ſiege of Tournay went on apace, and the enemies having caſt up a ſecond entrenchment, the

Progreſs of the ſiege.

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the better to cover their ſluices and the wall of the town, Count Lottum cauſed it to be attacked the 15th at night. A Lieutenant, with 20 men, leaped into the trench, which the enemies abandoned and retired, except two ſoldiers, who took that opportunity to deſert. The victors, who had no men killed, caſt up immediately a line of 190 paces, parallel to that which they had taken, and made a lodgment thereon. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and four mortars were mounted in the night on that battery, which began the 16th to batter the wall between the town and the citadel. The ſame day they took another entrenchment, without any oppoſition, and began to raiſe another battery againſt the wall, which was the only defence of the town on that ſide. They likewiſe made a lodgment the 15th, at Schulemburg's attack, on the ſaliant angle of the horn-work, and carried on the trenches along the flank; making on the right a lodgment on the ſaliant angle of the ravelin. At the attack of General Fagel, after having battered with a great deal of fury the ravelin between the gate of Marvis and the Upper Scheld, and made a breach ſufficient to be mounted, they lodged themſelves, by means of the ſap, on both ſides of the ſaliant angle of that work. In the night between the 20th and 21ſt they endeavoured, at Lottum's attack, to make themſelves maſters of the work before the gate of Valenciennes; but the beſieged made a ſally to prevent it, and at firſt put the workmen into diſorder, but were ſoon repulſed. The beſiegers had an engineer killed and two others wounded, with about 100 ſoldiers and workmen killed and wounded. Next night they advanced their ſapping 26 paces towards the gate, having not been able to advance further, becauſe of three ſallies the beſieged made one after another. In the mean time they made themſelves maſters of the whole counterſcarp, at the

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the attack of General Fagel, and fired into the covered-way of the enemies on the other ſide of the Scheld, before the attack of Count Lottum, with great ſucceſs. The attack of General Schulemburg was likewiſe very much advanced.

The beſieged all along believing that the attack of General Schulemburg was a falſe one, to favour the ſucceſs of the other two, made no preparations on that ſide, which they might eaſily have done, till the town ſeemed to be in danger of being taken by that very attack. Then Marſhal Villars made a motion with his army, and encamped his left near Doway, and his right along the cauſey of Valenciennes. He enlarged the fortifications of the latter place, and caſt up a bank before the gate of Conde, to make an inundation, and hinder any approach on that ſide. He made the ſame preparations for the defence of Conde; and left a flying-camp near Lens, for the ſecurity of his entrenchments; ſent his heavy baggage to Doway, and gave out that he would relieve Tournay. But notwithſtanding his motions the Confederate generals did not think fit to change their camp, but contented themſelves to re-inforce the garriſon of St. Amand, and to poſt a brigade of foot at St. Maur, a village near that town.

Motions of M. de Villars.

On the 27th General Schulemburg cauſed the ravelin and half-moon at his attack to be ſtormed; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the enemy, and their prodigious fire, his men lodged themſelves thereon, and perfected their lodgment, by favour of the continual fire they made from their cannon and mortars. The 28th in the morning the firing abated, and the enemies made a ſally to retake the works they had loſt the night before. They attacked very briſkly, but were repulſed with great loſs. In the evening, the enemies, obſerving great preparations for a ſtorm, and fearing to be taken ſword in hand, hoiſted

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hoiſted their colours, and deſired to capitulate for the town; which was granted, upon this proviſo, that the Duke of Marlborough would conſent to it. An aid-de-camp was accordingly diſpatched to his Highneſs at Willemeaux, which was at ſome miles diſtance from the camp of the beſiegers; and his Grace having conferred with Prince Eugene and the deputies of the States, it was agreed to capitulate: whereupon hoſtages were exchanged, and the articles propoſed by the garriſon were ſent to the princes for their approbation. It was pretty late the 29th before the capitulation was ſettled, becauſe they demanded ſeveral terms which the Duke of Marlborough did not think fit to grant them.

The garriſon deſire to capitulate.

The articles contained in ſubſtance, "That the "Roman Catholick religion, with the biſhop and "clergy, ſhould be preſerved in all their privileges: "that the Liſle-gate ſhould be delivered up the "30th in the morning, and the garriſon to re- "tire into the citadel the 31ſt. The ſick and "wounded, which were in a condition to be re- "moved, to go to Valenciennes or Doway at their "own charge, ſix days after the ſigning of the "capitulation." There were ſeveral articles for the payment of debts; for the inhabitants or officers withdrawing themſelves, families, and effects; and for regulating other particular points. The beſieged had leave to ſend an officer to Marſhal Villars, to give him an account of matters, who was to be ſent the 30th, and return into the citadel the 1ſt of Auguſt. On the part of the Allies it was demanded, "That hoſtages ſhould be left "for the payment of the French King's debts; "that the keys of the magazines ſhould be de- "livered up, and the mines faithfully diſcovered; "and, that the inhabitants of Tournay might have "leave to withdraw their effects out of France." The articles relating to the inhabitants of Tournay

Articles of capitulation.

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in particular were left to the management of the deputies of the States.

On the 6th of Auguſt, the States-General received letters from their field-deputies, with the unexpected news of a propoſal made by the French for ſurrendering the citadel of Tournay. The Marquis de Surville propoſed to the generals to appoint a perſon to treat with another appointed by him; in conſequence of which the Sieur de Lalo, Brigadier in the Britiſh troops, and the Marquis de Ravignan, drew up and ſubſcribed an agreement; by which, among other things ſtipulated, the citadel of Tournay was to be evacuated and ſurrendered to the Allies on the 5th of September at noon, in caſe the King's army did not oblige the 30 battalions and 10 ſquadrons, (amounting to about 18,000 men) who were employed in the ſiege, to raiſe it. But theſe articles being ſent to the French court for approbation, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would not ratify them, but upon condition that there ſhould be a ceſſation of arms in general in the Netherlands, till the ſaid 5th day of September, which the Allies having rejected, the ſiege was carried on with all poſſible vigour. The Grand army encamped near Orchies, in order to cover it; and the French continued on the other ſide the Scarpe, entrenching themſelves up to their noſes.

An agreement for ſurrendering the citadel, which the French King will not ſign.

Siege of the citadel.

Never was ſiege carried on thro' more difficulties, than that of the citadel of Tournay. The whole place was undermined, and every foot the beſiegers advanced, they were in danger of being blown up into the air. Scarce a day paſſed, but many of them were deſtroyed in this manner; and nothing but the obſtinate bravery of the ever-victorious Confederate army, commanded by generals who found no taſk inſuperable, joined to the ſtreights to which the French garriſon was reduced, could have made the former maſters of that place in ſo ſhort a time as a month. To

relate

relate all the particulars of this ſiege, would be only to inform the reader, that the Allies loſt a world of men; almoſt every article of the journal being an account of mines ſprung, and a liſt of officers and ſoldiers that were loſt. I ſhall but juſt take notice, therefore, that on the 29th of Auguſt, M. du Mey, the chief director of the attacks, was mortally wounded under ground; and that the Allies made ſuch a terrible fire upon the citadel, that day and the next, and threw in ſuch an abundance of bombs, that the next morning, at ſix o'clock, the enemy beat a parley, deſiring to capitulate, and hoſtages were thereupon exchanged on both ſides. M. Dolet and the Marquis de Ravignan, both majors-general, and four other officers, came out of the citadel; and Major-General Hondorff, with 5 officers more, on the ſide of the beſiegers, were ſent in. Dolet and his company were brought to the Earl of Albemarle's houſe, where the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were met to receive their propoſals. They offered to ſurrender the place, and delivered a project of a capitulation, conſiſting of 11 articles, the chief of which were, That the chapel ſhould not be made uſe of for the exerciſe of any other religion but the Roman Catholick, upon any pretext whatſoever: that they ſhould have 12 pieces of cannon and 6 mortars, with ammunition for 20 charges, and horſes, waggons, and other neceſſaries for that purpoſe, to be furniſhed by the beſiegers: that the garriſon ſhould march out, drums beating and colours flying, with the other uſual marks of honour: that they ſhould have four covered waggons: that the priſoners ſhould be returned on each ſide, and no deſerters ſtopp'd. The French hoſtages, having made theſe offers, were deſired to withdraw; and after ſome conſultation they were called in again, and received for anſwer from the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, that

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The garriſon offers propoſals, which are rejected.

1709 they could allow no other conditions, but that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Whereupon they returned into the citadel, and about three o'clock in the afternoon the hoſtilities began again. It was thought fit to inſiſt on having the garriſon priſoners of war, as well for the honour of the arms of the Allies, as in return for the French King's having refuſed to agree to the former capitulation: beſides that, during the ceſſation, the French officers had own'd that they were obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions.

On the 2d of September, about nine, the Earl of Albemarle came to the camp at Orchies, to give the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Savoy an account, that M. de Surville had deſired leave to ſpeak to his Lordſhip; and that he having been accordingly in conference with him, he had received propoſals for the ſurrender of the citadel, and deſired their Highneſſes orders thereupon. With theſe he returned about ten; and the next morning, at break of day, ſent word back, that the garriſon was at laſt willing to ſurrender upon ſuch terms as ſhould be allow'd them: whereupon their Highneſſes immediately came to Tournay, and ſigned the articles of ſurrender with the Marquis de Surville; by which all the officers and ſoldiers were to retain only their ſwords and baggage, and, leaving their colours and arms behind, were permitted to return to France, upon condition that they ſhould not ſerve untill they were actually exchanged againſt the like number of officers and ſoldiers of the Allies; and thoſe taken at Warneton were to be immediately ſent back as part of this exchange.

They ſurrender priſoners of war.

The garriſon having ſurrender'd, according to the ſtipulated conditions, and a gate having been delivered up the 3d in the afternoon, the armies of the Allies decamped the ſame night from Orchies,

Orchies, paſſed the Scheld, joined in their march, and encamped the 4th at Briſoul. The Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was detached the 3d in the morning with 4000 foot and 60 ſquadrons, in order to open a way for inveſting of Mons, encamped at ſome diſtance from the Grand army. The 5th he paſſed the Haine in the afternoon, and the Grand army encamped at Sizaut. The next morning his Serene Highneſs, having made the diſpoſitions for attacking the lines of the enemy above, from the Haine to the Sambre, he found them abandoned by 3 regiments of dragoons, who had been poſted there. The enemy deſigned, it ſeems, to defend thoſe lines; for the Chevalier de Luxembourg, with a great detachment, arrived ſoon after, to ſuſtain the dragoons, and was followed by M. de Villars in perſon: but ſeeing that their troops had quitted the poſt, they marched back to Quievrain, where they were hourly re-inforced by troops which arrived from their lines along the Scarpe. The Prince, having taken poſſeſſion of the French lines, encamped his right to Jemappe, and his left to Tramiers, whereby Mons was cloſely blocked up. The army under the Duke of Marlborough lay with its right to Fontoburg, and the left to Hion; his Highneſs having his quarters at Havre on the Haine, a caſtle belonging to the Duke of that name.

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The Prince of Heſſe detached towards Mons.

The 7th his Grace received advice about noon, that the French were marching to attack the body under the Prince of Heſſe; whereupon orders were given to the army to decamp from Havre, and leave their baggage behind, and their tents ſtanding. They halted on the hills of Belian, where the Prince of Heſſe had his quarters; and there the generals received advice, that the enemies had not paſſed the defiles of Waſme, but were encamped between Quievrain and thoſe defiles. This made the army continue in that camp

The Duke of Marlborough marches to ſupport him.

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the following night, but all the time in order of battle. The Duke of Marlborough being informed, that the garriſon of Mons conſiſted only of 9 weak Spaniſh and 2 Bavarian battalions, beſides the dragoons of Paſteur, conjectured, that the chief deſign of the enemy in theſe motions was to oblige him to draw all his forces into the plain between Belian and Frameries, that they might have an opportunity to throw ſome re-inforcements into Mons. To prevent this, his Grace ſent ſome troops towards St. Guillain.

The 8th the army marched and encamped, the left wing on the ſide of the Haine, with St. Guillain before them, and likewiſe the enemies army, which was encamped at Boſſu. That afternoon the huſſars met a party of the enemy at the wood or village of Sars, conſiſting of 400 men; and, by the help of the Prince of Heſſe's advanced-guard, this army was defeated; and a lieutenant-colonel, with ſome other officers, 30 ſoldiers, 30 deſerters, and about 100 horſes, were brought in. On the left wing, Major-General Groveſtein met another party in the opening by that wood, which was defeated, and 50 men made priſoners. That day advice came, that M. de Boufflers was arrived in the enemies army, with order from their King to offer the Confederates battle.

Parties of the enemy defeated.

The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and M. Goſſinga, Field-Deputy, reſolved, on the 9th, to go and view the enemies army, taking with them for their guard the Prince d'Auvergne, with ſeveral ſquadrons. When they came over-againſt Blaugies and Lamberchies, they diſcovered the enemies whole army, who were in motion, and poſting themſelves on the plain of Blaugies, with their horſe between the two woods. Their infantry they poſted in the woods, on the right and left. The generals having obſerved this, immediately gave orders for drawing up their army facing the enemy,

The Confederate generals view the enemy.

enemy, the right wing extending to Sars, and the left to Bleron, where they placed their cannon, which was played with good execution. The Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene and the Prince-royal of Pruſſia, paſſed that night with M. Goſlinga, that they might be ready if the enemy ſhould make any attempt. In the mean while, they had advice, that the enemy entrenched themſelves, and were felling the wood, to clear as much of it as was neceſſary for their own motions, and to throw up before them in the manner of Chevaux de Friſe. 1709

The 10th it appeared, that the enemy were running an entrenchment croſs the plain from one wood to the other, and making uſe of all the advantage of the ground: whereupon it was reſolved, between Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and M. Goſlinga, to attack them. At that time arrived M. Hooft, Field-Deputy, from Tournay; as did the next morning M. Rantwijck, another Field-Deputy. The preſence of theſe gentlemen was neceſſary, to give ſanction to an action of ſuch importance: and a council of war being held upon their arrival, they were at laſt, with ſome difficulty, brought to conſent to the reſolution that had been before taken. That evening, Lieutenant-General Dedem, with a detachment from the blockade of Mons, took St. Guillain ſword in hand, making the garriſon priſoners of war. The ſame evening alſo, arrived the Generals Lottum and Baron Schulemburg, with the troops that had been employed in the ſiege of Tournay.

Reſolves to attack them.

The 11th, early, that detachment came and joined the right wing, over-againſt the wood by Sars, where the enemies left was poſted. The ſame morning the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Field-Deputies, rode together along the line, between the enemies army and theirs.

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theirs. Several men were killed in their preſence by the enemies cannon-ſhot.

Diſpoſition of both armies.

The French generals had poſted their left wing, commanded by Villars, towards Blaugies, having before them the woods of Blaugies, and Sart. Their center was before Erquennes and Tanieres; and the right wing, under Marſhal Boufflers, had in flank the wood of Sanſart. The open ground between the two woods was about 3000 paces broad: an entrenchment was thrown up croſs it, and before that entrenchment was a village, cover'd ſtrongly by ditches and hedges. The woods on both wings were felled and entrenched, and 100 pieces of cannon were poſted in the avenues.

The enemy, who were 120,000 ſtrong, having made this diſpoſition, the whole army of the Allies, which faced them at a ſmall diſtance, and was not much inferior in number, moved towards them in the morning betimes. The ſignal was given before 9 o'clock, by firing 50 cannon, for attacking the enemy at once on all ſides. General Shulemburg, with the Britiſh and other troops from Tournay, was drawn up to the right of the wood of Sart; the infantry of the Prince of Savoy's army, along the great road which paſſes thro' that wood; General Lottum, with part of the foot of the right wing, to the left of the ſame wood. The reſt of the infantry of that wing, conſiſting chiefly of Hanoverians, had in front the lines in the opening between the village and the ſaid wood. The infantry of the States, commanded by the Prince of Orange, ſome battalions excepted, who attacked the wood of Sanſart, had in front the lines between the village and that wood. The horſe of the whole army were poſted behind the foot, to ſupport and ſecond them where the ground would permit.

At

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The battle of Blaregnies or Malplaquet.

At the ſignal all moved together, and began the attacks with incredible bravery, and with ſuch ſucceſs at the wood of Sart, that after an hour's reſiſtance, the enemy, at all the three attacks there, were driven out of the wood, and out of their entrenchments. On the left, between the village and the wood of Sanſart, the fight laſted longer; and the Dutch there, having three entrenchments before them, forced the two firſt; but in the attack of the third were, by the great fire of the enemy, repulſed, loſing a great number of men. But rallying again, and the right wing having in the mean time made themſelves maſters of the wood of Sart, and coming to flank the entrenchments between the two woods, the enemy quitted thoſe entrenchments. This gave the horſe an opportunity to break into them; and though the firſt ſquadrons which entered were repulſed, yet all the cavalry broke thro', advanced into the plain, and there charged the enemy's horſe: whereupon the enemy's whole army fell into diſorder; the Confederates left wing having in the mean time made themſelves maſters of the entrenchments in the wood of Sanſart, which was facilitated by ſome of their ſquadrons falling upon the enemy's flank there.

To be a little more particular: the Britiſh troops having forced into the enemies entrenchments, the right of the Duke of Marlborough's army marched thro' the wood with great difficulty, forcing the enemy to retire as they advanced. When they had pierced quite thro', the Engliſh foot, with that of Prince Eugene, began to form themſelves on the plain, after being much divided by fighting thro' the thickneſs of the wood. The Duke of Marlborough commanded an halt as ſoon as they came into the plain, and rode to obſerve what had paſſed on his left, where the troops of the States had attacked the enemy in the plain between

1709 tween the woods of Sart and Sanſart. His Grace, obſerving the great loſs which the Dutch troops had ſuffered, ordered Lieutenant-General Withers to march with the body under his immediate direction to ſuſtain them: but upon farther deliberation, and notice that the Lieutenant-General had been attacked, and was actually engaged with the enemy, and that all things went well on the right, the Duke thought fit rather to preſs on the advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left in the heat of the action. It was ſoon after, that the enemy's left began to retire towards Attich, and draw off their cannon from the plain before Bleron. Their foot alſo began to break in the center: whereupon the Duke of Marlborough commanded the Earl of Orkney to attack them in their entrenchments on the plains of Bleron, with directions, if he ſucceeded there, to poſt himſelf in thoſe entrenchments, and cover the horſe as they ſhould file off through the woods into the plain, in order to charge the cavalry of the enemy, which were there drawn up. This was executed with great reſolution and ſucceſs; and though the firſt ſquadrons, as we ſaid, were repulſed; yet, before the horſe of the Allies were all marched into the plain, and while they were forming themſelves in order of battle, the French horſe retired by the way of Bavay; and the right of their foot, which were entrenched on the plains of Bleron, marched off with great precipitation, between the ſource of the river Honneau and the wood Sanſart.

Bravery of the officers and ſoldiers.

The enemy's troops, being thus put to the rout on all ſides, left behind them their cannon, and what elſe they had. The Prince of Savoy, who in the beginning of the action was ſlightly wounded in the head, the Duke of Marlborough, and Count Tilly, were, during the whole fight, on the right and left wings, continually at the head

head of the troops, in the hotteſt of the fire, leading them on. The field-deputies animated the troops all the while by their preſence, and M. Goſlinga had a horſe ſhot under him. All the generals, officers, and ſoldiers, ſhewed in this bloody battle (the bloodieſt indeed that had been fought for many years, and between the greateſt armies) as much reſolution and firmneſs as ever were ſeen, or ever can be expected from valiant men; the fight being very obſtinate from half an hour paſt 8 in the morning, till half an hour paſt 2 in the afternoon; and the enemy were ſo advantageouſly poſted, that when the battle was over, the Allies wondred how they had ſurmounted ſuch difficulties. 1709

Loſs on both ſides.

I have not been able to get any certain account of the number of the ſlain and wounded in this dreadful action: but in general it is agreed, that above 20,000 men on both ſides were left dead on the field of battle: nor muſt it be wondred at, that more than the one half of theſe were loſt by the victors. The day after the battle was employed by the Allies in ſeeking for their wounded, and interring part of their killed: which done, the army returned to the ſame camp they were in three days before the battle; their left wing extending to Gogny Gauchi, and the right near the Haine.

Retreat of the enemy.

The enemy continued their retreat, and one of their brigades of foot retired towards Conde: three others were the next day before Valenciennes, at the time the gates are uſually opened. Good part of the infantry of their right wing drew off towards Maubege: but the groſs of their horſe and foot, who were in the main body of their army, having paſſed the defiles of Amfroidpre, halted between Warnies and Commines, and the ſame night paſſed the rivulet of Renelle, encamping with their right at Queſnoy, and extending their left towards Valenciennes. Marſhal Villars

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lars finding himſelf very ill of a wound he received in his knee, to which the French aſcribed much of their misfortune, Marſhal Boufflers, who arrived in the camp juſt before the fight, took on him the command of the French army.

The Allies gave the enemy leave to fetch off their wounded from the field of battle, on condition that they ſhould be anſwerable for them in exchange, as priſoners of war. For this end there was a conference at Bavay, between Lieutenant-General Cadagon, on one part, and the Chevalier de Luxembourg on the other. About 300 officers, as well wounded as others, were ſent to the enemy on their parole. The French took 24 from the Allies, whom they likewiſe ſent back.

Diſpoſitions for the ſiege of Mons.

The ſiege of Mons being reſolved upon, the generals ordered a vaſt quantity of faſcines to be got in readineſs, ſent for the train of artillery, which arrived at Bruſſels, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for that undertaking. The Prince of Naſſau-Frieſland, who was appointed to command it, took poſt the 20th near the town, with 30 battalions and 30 ſquadrons. His Highneſs had under him 3 lieutenant-generals, 8 major-generals, and 9 brigadiers. The grand army made a motion, at the ſame time, to cover the ſiege; the right, under Prince Eugene, taking poſt near St. Guillain; and the left, at Villers-Miſſernicol on the Trouille. The Duke of Marlborough had his quarters again in the caſtle of Havre.

In the mean time the enemies gave out, that they would not ſuffer Mons to be taken in their ſight, but would venture a ſecond engagement to relieve it. To be ready for them, the quarter-maſters-general went out the 24th, and marked out a camp for the army, in which all the troops knew what poſts every battalion and ſquadron was

was to take, if the French advanced to diſturb this ſiege. The ſame morning a Major, with 200 foot, 40 horſe and 100 workmen, was ſent to cut a dyke between Conde and St. Guillain; which had a good effect. The following night the trenches were opened at two attacks, one againſt the gate of Bertamont, and another againſt the gate of Havre. Four battalions and 2000 workmen were commanded for the former attack, and 2 battalions and 1000 workmen for the latter. Lieutenant-General Cadogan, who was at the latter attack, received a wound in his neck, and his adjutant was killed. The 26th, about 3 in the afternoon, the beſieged made a ſalley at the ſame attack; and Hill's regiment, which was in the trenches, was put at firſt into diſorder; but being ſuſtained by a regiment of Pruſſians, the enemies were repulſed. The ſame day the beſiegers took the redoubt of Nimi, found therein 2 pieces of cannon, and made the officer who commanded it, with 36 men, priſoners of war. The 30th, a convoy with the artillery from Bruſſels being arrived, 32 pieces of cannon were brought to the batteries at the attack of Bertamont, and 16 to that of Havre. The 1ſt of October, they took a little hornwork and redoubt near the Park-Gate, wherein the enemy had two pieces of cannon, and a Lieutenant and an Enſign with 40 men, who ſurrendered priſoners of war. By the taking of theſe works they became maſters of a ſluice, which was of great uſe for letting out the water that incommoded them. Thoſe works covered likewiſe the mills, wherein the beſieged uſed to grind moſt of their corn. The 3d, they obliged the enemy to quit a ſmall redoubt on the right of the gate of Havre.

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The trenches opened.

On the 8th in the morning they attacked the counterſcarp of the hornwork at the gate of Havre; and, after half an hour's reſiſtance, lodged

The counterſcarp and covert ways taken.

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On the 19th, in the morning, the batteries began to fire upon the face of the hornwork, at the gate of Havre, and continued to do ſo with very good ſucceſs till the 20th about noon, when the breaches being almoſt practicable, and the beſiegers making preparations for an attack, they were prevented by the enemy's beating a parley, and hanging out white flags at both attacks, to ſignify their deſire to capitulate. Hoſtages were accordingly exchanged; and thoſe of the enemy, having dined with the Prince of Naſſau near the Bertamont attack, came in the afternoon to the Duke of Marlborough's quarters, delivered in their

The garriſon capitulates.

their propoſals, and returned into the town about eight with the anſwer of his Grace and Prince Eugene. They came out again the next morning, and, after ſome debates, it was agreed, that the gate of Nimi ſhould be delivered to the Allies, as it was in the evening; and that the garriſon ſhould march out the 23d; the French to be conducted to Maubeug, and the Spaniſh and Bavarian troops to Namur. The propoſals made by the beſieged conſiſted of 22 articles, which contained in general the uſual demands made by garriſons on the like occaſions. They deſired eight days time to expect relief; which was refuſed. They likewiſe deſired the uſual marks of honour, with 20 charges for every ſoldier, 10 pieces of cannon and 4 mortars, with ammunition for 12 charges; but the cannon and mortars were refuſed them, and only 6 charges allowed to each man. They were obliged to leave hoſtages for the debts of the garriſon, and other pretenſions of the town. The articles were ſigned at Prince Eugene's quarters, by his Serene Highneſs, the Duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States, and the governor of the town. 1709

The taking of this important place convinced the world, that the Allies gained a real victory the preceding month, which the French pretended to deny, and that the latter had no intention to venture a ſecond engagement with them: for elſe they would not have miſſed the faireſt opportunity they could ever expect, a great part of the Confederate forces being employed in the ſiege, and the reſt of the army lying in an open plain without any lines, or any other defence to cover them.

The ſcarcity of forage, and the difficulty of the roads (not any thing the Allies had to fear) put a ſtop to any farther operations of war; and the winter-quarters being ſettled, the army paſſed the Haine, in order to ſeparate, and march

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into their reſpective garriſons. After which the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene and the deputies of the States, ſet out for the Hague, where they arrived in the beginning of November. The two Princes had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, and ſettled many important points in relation to the operations of the next campaign. In a conference on the 12th, they each of them made a ſpeech, which received great applauſe. They repreſented, amongſt other things; "That though there was reaſon to "hope, that the glorious victory, and other "great advantages obtained in the laſt campaign, "would induce the enemy to comply this winter "with ſuch terms as might ſecure a good and "ſure peace; yet as this was ſtill uncertain, there "was an abſolute neceſſity to purſue in time, "and without any delay, the neceſſary meaſures "for taking the field early in the next Spring, in "order to act with more vigour than ever, in "caſe the Allies found it neceſſary to continue "the war: that above all things it was neceſſary "to make ſufficient magazines of forage, corn, "meal, and other neceſſaries, in the moſt con-"venient frontier places, that the troops might "be aſſembled, ſubſiſted, and put in a condition "to act as well before the country affords any "forage, as in the ſummer; and that a ſufficient "number of waggons be provided for tranſport-"ing to the army bread and other neceſſaries; the "troops having been more than once in the laſt "campaign in great ſtreights, and having for ſome "days been without bread for want of waggons."

Speeches of Pr. Eugene and the D. of Marlborough at the Hague.

This conference having been reported to the States-General, their High Mightineſſes took it into their conſideration, and declared themſelves reſolved to make their utmoſt efforts the next campaign, for reducing the enemy to the neceſſity of complying with ſuch terms as might ſecure the peace of Chriſtendom.

The

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The French having desired that the Sieur Pettecum, resident of Holstein, should go to Paris, to confer with their ministers, and help them to find an expedient for removing the difficulties that had obstructed the negotiations of the peace, the ministers of the Allies consented that he should go thither, at the desire of the French, but gave him no manner of commission to speak from them, or in their name. He set out from the Hague the 12th of November, and the Duke of Marlborough, foreseeing that this was but a new artifice of the enemies to amuse their subjects with hopes of a speedy peace, and that the journey of the resident of Holstein would produce nothing at all, did not think fit to spend any more time at the Hague, but taking the opportunity of a fair wind, embarked for England. Prince Eugene continued for some days longer at the Hague; but being informed that the journey of M. Pettecum would signify nothing at all, and that the French were proposing trifling equivalents for the contended article of the former preliminaries, his Highness set out for Vienna.

The Sieur Pettecum goes to Paris, and the D. of Marlborough to England.

Five days after his Grace arrived at London, it was resolved *nemine contradicente* by the house of Commons, that the late victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough, and the other great and important successes of the last campaign, were so remarkable, that the house thought itself obliged to express how sensible they were of the honour and advantages which this kingdom and the whole Confederacy had received by his eminent services; and that the committee, by order of that house, should give his Grace their thanks, and congratulate his safety and return to Great-Britain. Accordingly the committee appointed waited upon his Grace, and delivered to him the resolution of the house.

His Grace receives the thanks of the house of Commons.

The Lord chancellor also addressed his Grace at his first appearance in the house of Lords, to

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The Chancellor's ſpeech to him.

this effect: "That he was commanded by their "Lordſhips to give his Grace the thanks of that "houſe, for his continued ſervice to her Majeſty "and the publick, during the laſt campaign: "of which nothing greater could be ſaid, than "what her Majeſty (who always ſpoke with the "utmoſt exactneſs and certainty) had declared "from the throne, *That it had been, at leaſt, as "glorious as any which had preceded it.* But "that the repetition of the thanks of that "auguſt aſſembly had this advantage of the for-"mer, that it muſt be looked upon as added to "and ſtanding on the foundations already laid in "the records of that houſe, for the preſerving "his memory freſh to all future times; ſo that "his Grace had alſo the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the "everlaſting monument of his glory riſe every "year much higher." To which his Lordſhip added his wiſhes, "That God might continue, "in a wonderful manner, to preſerve ſo invalu-"able a life, that he might not only add to that "ſtructure, but finiſh all with the beauties and "ornaments of an honourable and laſting peace." —— To this as well as to the addreſs of the Commons, his Grace anſwered with his wonted modeſty and ſelf-denial.

Reſolutions of the States on the Sieur Pettecum's anſwer.

On Saturday the 14th of December the deputies of the States-General for foreign affairs, having, according to their commiſſion, examined the anſwer brought from France by the Sieur Pettecum, which he had delivered in writing as it was communicated to him by the Marquis de Torcy; the ſaid deputies reported to the aſſembly, "That having ſeriouſly conſidered the contents "of that anſwer, it appeared to them, that the "French court entirely receded from the foun-"dations that had been before laid, and on which "the negotiations for grounding thoſe of a ge-"neral peace were begun, and had been continu-"ed; that the anſwer brought by the Sieur Pette-

"cum

" cum was not ſatisfactory, and that the preliminary articles of the laſt year ought to be inſiſted " upon, except the 37th, to which the Allies had " been of opinion, that an expedient might be " found to the ſatisfaction of all parties." 1709

In conſequence of this report the States-General took a vigorous reſolution for continuing the war, and wrote letters to all the Allies to prompt them to renew their efforts. The latter part of that to the Queen of Great-Britain does ſo much honour to our Hero, that I ſhall inſert it.

Extract of their letter to the Q. of Great Britain.

" We have another requeſt to add to our former, which is, That your Majeſty would be " pleaſed to ſend hither the Prince and Duke of " Marlborough betimes, and if poſſible before the " end of February, that we may have the benefit " of the wiſe counſels of that great General, in " concerting in a due time the operations for the " next campaign, as well as reap the advantages " of his incomparable valour in the execution " thereof."

The French make new Propoſals.

The French, having received advice of the reſolution of the States, thought fit to make further overtures of peace, and M. de Torcy ſent to the reſident of Holſtein new propoſals, not much different from the preliminaries, and deſired him to communicate them to the Allies; but as to the conteſted article, they deſired leave to ſend a miniſter to treat of an equivalent. This affair being debated, it was reſolved on the part of the Allies, that the French King ſhould be allowed to ſend a miniſter to the Hague, for that purpoſe, provided he ratified all the other preliminaries. Purſuant to this conceſſion the French King ſent the Marſhal d' Uxelles, and the Abbe de Polignace, to confer with the miniſters of the Allies: But the ſucceſs of theſe negotiations I muſt defer till I have given ſome account of the paſt campaign, in the countries remote from the ſeat of war in which the Duke of Marlborough commanded.

The

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The Campaign in Portugal.

The publick conferences being broke off the preceding Spring, and M. de Rouille returned to Paris, Portugal was the firſt ſcene of action that year. An engagement indeed happened there while the conferences at the Hague was ſtill on foot, which, in the opinion of many, had ſome influence on the French King, and proved a new motive to induce him to reject the preliminaries of peace; tho', in fact, that affair was too inconſiderable in itſelf to produce ſo great an alteration in the counſels of that Prince, had his heart been ſincerely inclined. That climate allowing the armies to take the field ſooner than in the Northern parts, the Portugueſe troops aſſembled about the middle of April near Eſtremos, while the Spaniſh drew together about Badajox. The Portugueſe advanced further towards the enemy, and, being ſuperior to them, reſolved to attack them, if poſſible; conſidering that if they got the victory, as was very probable, it might be attended with the loſs of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, and, that if they loſt the day, the enemies were not in a condition to proſecute their advantage. The armies being very near, they had ſoon an opportunity to engage: for the Marquis de Bay having given out, that he would make a general forage in ſight of the Portugueſe the 7th of May, the armies came that day to battle, in which the Portugueſe cavalry, being for the moſt part newly raiſed, ran away, without ſo much as charging or being charged, leaving their infantry expoſed. Theſe however made ſo brave a defence, that they retired in ſight of the enemy, (in which they were very much favoured by the Engliſh regiments of Barrimore and Stanwix, who were taken priſoners) and the loſs of the Spaniards was at leaſt equal to that of the Portugueſe. The Marquis de Bay blocked up Olivenza; but was obliged to raiſe the blockade, and to ſend the troops into quarters of refreſhment, without having gained an inch

of

of ground. The Spaniards threatened to enter Portugal in the autumn campaign, when the arrival of General Stanhope at Gibraltar, with a fleet and three regiments from Barcelona and Port Mahon, gave ſuch a jealouſy to the Spaniards, that the Marquis de Bay was ordered to ſend the beſt part of his troops for ſecuring the coaſt of Andaluſia, and chiefly Cadiz, on which they ſuſpected the Allies to have a deſign. It is very likely indeed they had, tho' they wanted an opportunity to put it in execution, becauſe the forces from England and Ireland, under convoy of Admiral Baker, were ſo long detained in thoſe parts by contrary winds, that it being too late to go upon any enterpriſe, General Stanhope returned to Barcelona, where the Admiral arrived alſo in November, and landed his forces. This diverſion was very favourable to the Portugueſe; for the Spaniards could not form any army to moleſt their territories. 1709

In Catalonia.

The Campaign in Catalonia was not very remarkable by any great exploits of war; but conſidering the ſtreights King Charles was reduced to, it was very glorious for that Prince, to have with a handful of men not only preſerved his country againſt two powerful armies, but likewiſe to have obtained ſome advantages over them, by ſeizing Balaguer, and obliging the enemy to quit ſome countries between the Cinca and the Segra, of which they had been poſſeſſed ſince the taking of Lerida. When the news of the taking of Balaguer came to Madrid, King Philip was ſo much concerned at it, that he took poſt for his army, giving out that he would attack the Allies. He arrived in his army, advanced, and ſaw the enemy; but, taking his leave of Count Stahrenberg, returned poſt with the ſame precipitation to Madrid, giving ſufficient cauſe to his enemies to laugh at his frivolous journey.

In

1709

In Piedmont.

In Piedmont, the ſucceſs of the campaign came very ſhort of the hopes the Allies had conceived, upon the taking of Exilles and Feneſtrelles the year before. The Duke of Savoy declined to go into the field, upon account of ſome differences between him and the Imperial court, which the earneſt inſtances made by general Palmes at Vienna and Turin, in the name of the Queen of Great-Britain and the States-General, were not able to adjuſt; and, notwithſtanding his forces, with the Imperialiſts and the auxiliaries of Pruſſia and Saxe-Gotha, took the field under the command of the Count de Thaun, forced their paſſage over the Alps, defeated a conſiderable detachment of the French, and advanced into the duchy of Savoy, as far as the banks of the Rhone, ſtriking a very great conſternation among the neighbouring provinces of France; yet they could not paſs that river, nor find an opportunity to attack the Duke of Berwick, poſted in an almoſt inacceſſible camp near Montmelian, and at laſt were obliged to return into Piedmont and the Milaneſe, having found it impoſſible to maintain themſelves in Savoy during the winter. This had been projected, that the army might be at hand to attack France the next campaign at the ſame time, and in concert with the other armies of the Allies.

On the Rhine.

The preſſing exhortations made on the part of the Allies to the empire having not been able to quicken the reſolutions of its members, their forces came late into the field, and not more numerous nor better provided than the preceding years: however, the Elector of Hanover, being prevailed upon for the good of the common cauſe, repaired to the army on the Upper Rhine, as ſoon as it was in a condition to act, and reſolved to execute a project, which ſome accident had diſappointed the year before. Having paſſed the Rhine, he marched directly to the lines of the enemy, and made a feint to attack them, while Count

Count Merci was detached towards the Black-Foreſt with a body of horſe, with orders to paſs the Rhine at the foreſt towns, march through the territories of Baſil, and take poſt on the French ſide of the river. Mean time General Weykerſheim, with a body of foot and ſome artillery, marched to lay a bridge at Newenburg, and come up to join him. Theſe orders were ſo well executed, that the bridge was finiſhed, and that army encamped as had been directed. This ſo alarmed the enemy, that Count du Bourg was ſent with a detachment to oppoſe Count Merci, whom he defeated while the Elector was coming up to ſupport him: and thus the deſign that had been formed of penetrating into the Franche Comte was again diſappointed, and the campaign on that ſide concluded without any remarkable action. 1709

The Pope brought to ſubmiſſion.

I muſt not omit another affair that happened the ſame year, as it made no ſmall noiſe, and had ſome effect on what paſſed afterwards in other parts. The Emperor Joſeph, being convinced of the partiality of the Pontiff of Rome for the houſe of Bourbon, and reſolved to do himſelf juſtice, ordered his troops to ſeize Comacchio and ſome other places, under pretence that they were fiefs of the Empire. Theſe hoſtilities were follow'd by others, and the campaign in 1708 being ended in Piedmont, the Count de Thaun marched with the Imperial troops and ſome auxiliaries into the countries of Bologna and Ferrara, and threatned to advance directly to Rome. This proceeding of the Imperialiſts exaſperated the Holy Father, who preſently gave out commiſſions for augmenting his forces, and propoſed a league between him and ſeveral States of Italy with France. The Marſhal of Teſſe was ſent ambaſſador of that crown of Rome, and was deſigned to be generaliſſimo of the Confederates; but France being unable to aſſiſt them with any money or troops,

1709 troops, the Imperialiſts being almoſt at the gates of Rome, and the Confederate fleet in the Mediterranean ready to bombard any place that ſhould declare for the common enemy, the Pope thought fit to lay aſide his warlike deſigns, and hearken to the propoſals made him by the Marquis de Prie, on the part of the houſe of Auſtria; inſomuch that a treaty was concluded between that miniſter and Cardinal Paulucci, whereby the Pope promiſed to acknowledge King Charles for King of Spain, and to reduce his troops to their former number. This accommodation gave ſo much diſguſt to the courts of France and Madrid, that their miniſters were recalled from Rome, and the Pope's nuncio was commanded to depart Spain by the Duke of Anjou, who beſides took ſeveral reſolutions very prejudicial to the Holy See. Mean time the Pope found means to delay the recognition of King Charles, and the congregation appointed to examine that affair would never agree to it; but when he ſaw the campaign ended in Piedmont, and the Imperial troops returning, he wrote a brief to the King of Spain, and acknowledged his title in a publick conſiſtory, by allowing his nomination to the See of Solzona in Catalonia, as Catholick King of Spain. 'Tis true, that in that act he declared, That this was without prejudice to the other poſſeſſor, Philip V. likewiſe Catholick King of Spain. But however, this was a great point gain'd, and, for the preſent, convinced the Spaniards, that they might with a ſafe conſcience ſubmit to King Charles, though they had ſworn fealty to Philip.——— I now reſume the negotiations of peace, which I left to relate theſe occurrences.

Expectations of a peace. The taking of Tournay and Mons, the victory of Malplaquet, and other ſucceſſes of the Allies

Allies in the year 1709, together with the great difficulties France was reduced to at that time, through a ſcarcity of corn, made people believe, that the following year would produce a peace, ſuch as the Allies had propoſed to themſelves, which might ſecure for a long time a general tranquillity in Chriſtendom: and as, upon the earneſt inſtances of France, the conferences for ſettling the preliminaries were renewed in the beginning of March, many were of opinion, that this grand affair would be adjuſted before the opening of the campaign. The quality of the perſons ſent on the part of France to manage thoſe conferences, and the ſolema aſſurances given by the French court, that the moſt Chriſtian King conſented to all the preliminaries, except the 37th, for which they had an equivalent to propoſe, rendered this opinion very probable. But the event ſhewed, that peace, or at leaſt ſuch a peace as the Allies deſigned for the good of Europe, was very far from the thoughts of that Prince. 1709

The conferences at Gertruydenberg.

The town of Gertruydenberg being appointed for theſe conferences, the Marſhal d' Uxelles and the Abbot de Polignac, plenipotentiaries of France, arrived there the 10th of March, being met at Moerdyke by Meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, deputies of the States, who were to manage the conferences on the Part of the Allies: they had the ſame day a conference together; but inſtead of an equivalent for the 37th article of the preliminaries, as had been promiſed by their court, for ſecuring the reſtoration of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, they propoſed a ſeparate treaty for France, with a promiſe that they would not aſſiſt the Duke of Anjou. This propoſal of the French being communicated to the miniſters of the Allies at the Hague, they were immediately ſenſible, that

1709 the French had no other deſign in theſe negotiations than to divide them, and that theſe conferences would break up without any ſucceſs: however, it was reſolved to continue them, that the French might not have a pretence to charge the Allies with the prolongation of the war, as they had often attempted, in order to encourage their own people, and create ſome uneaſineſs amongſt the ſubjects of their enemies; which was certainly their intention, as it evidently appeared ſome time after.

The plenipotentiaries and deputies had ſeveral other conferences together, which it would be too tedious to take notice of; and we muſt content ourſelves to obſerve, that the partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, which they reduced to Sicily and Sardinia in favour of the Duke of Anjou, and the ſubſidies they offered towards the charges of the war for obliging that Prince to quit the Spaniſh throne, (ſuppoſing all along a ſeparate peace with France, and the continuation of the war to conquer Spain and the Indies, contrary to the firſt foundation of the negotiations;) this, I ſay, not being ſatisfactory to the Allies, they inſiſted on a poſitive declaration of France about that eſſential point; without which they judged it to no purpoſe to continue the conferences. The French being thus brought to a neceſſity to declare their minds, broke off the conferences; and their plenipotentiaries wrote a long letter to the penſionary Heinſius, dated the 20th of July, 1710; wherein they endeavoured to juſtify the conduct of their court and the negotiations; and had the confidence to charge the Allies, and in particular the Dutch, with the continuation of the war, telling their penſionary in plain terms, "That their longer "ſtay at Gertruydenberg would be to no pur-"poſe, ſince thoſe who governed the repu-"blick

1709

" lick thought it their intereſt to make the war " depend upon an impoſſible condition; and that " their King left it to the judgment of all the " world, and even to the people of England " and Holland, to diſtinguiſh who were the " true authors of the continuance of ſo bloody " a war."

THE HISTORY OF JOHN DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK VII.

To the end of the war; with the remainder of the Duke's life, and his death and character.

1710

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene take the field.

THE Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene ſet out for the army in the middle of April, and intended to attack the lines by the 30th of that month; but this happened much ſooner, to the agreeable ſurpriſe of all the Confederates. The troops on the Maeſe, in Brabant, and Flanders, being ordered to march towards Tournay, where they were to rendezvous, the generals arrived there the 18th, and began their march the 20th, towards the French lines,

lines, which they paſſed the 21ſt, without any oppoſition. But of this ſucceſs, and the taking and retaking the poſt of Mortaigne, which preceded it, we have the following particulars, contained in ſeveral letters written to the States-General. 1710

Lord Albemarle takes, loſes, and retakes Mortaigne.

According to a project concerted with Lieutenant-General Cadogan, the Earl of Albemarle made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to attack Mortaigne with 6 veſſels, 6 pieces of cannon, and 300 men. The attack was made the 14th at break of day, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the enemy thought it neceſſary to ſurrender, after a ſmall reſiſtance; and a captain, 4 ſubalterns, 5 ſerjeants, and 65 private men, were taken priſoners. His Lordſhip left therein Captain Houze, with his free company, and 20 other men to ſecure the caſtle, and poſted 15 men in the town-houſe, and 10 in the redoubt: but the enemies, by means of the galliots they had at Conde, on which they had planted 7 or 8 pieces of cannon, attacked that poſt again the 15th, by favour of a great detachment of infantry, and took it after three hours reſiſtance, making the garriſon, conſiſting of 50 men, priſoners. They held it, however, but a ſhort time; for on the 18th, with a detachment of 600 men of the garriſon of Tournay, and ſome veſſels and cannon, Mortaigne was re-taken, notwithſtanding the enemy was aſſiſted in their defence by 12 or 15 galliots. The garriſon conſiſted of 4 captains, 6 Lieutenants, ſeveral ſerjeants, and 200 grenadiers, who were all taken priſoners.

The enemies lines paſſed.

The Duke of Marlborough having taken the field, and conferred with Count Tilly and Prince Eugene, and the deputy Claerbergen, it was reſolved that all the troops ſhould take with them bread and forage till the 23d. They accordingly provided themſelves the 20th, and made the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching towards the canal, between Doway and Liſle, in order to

1710

paſs it, and get into the enemy's lines. And the next morning, about ſix, the Prince of Wirtemberg and Lieutenant-General Cadogan, with 15 battalions, and ſome horſe, got into the lines at Pont a Vendin. The few troops they had there, for the defence of that poſt, retired without firing a gun, and about 30 battalions, with ſome ſquadrons poſted near Lens and Bethune, made likewiſe their retreat, partly towards Arras, and partly towards Doway. Here the right wing got thro', and the left at the ſame time paſſed at Courierre.

The army encamped that night in the plain of Lens, and the 22d marched again very early to diſlodge the French, who were aſſembling their troops near Vitry behind the Scarpe, to diſpute the paſſage of that river. In order thereto, the Marſhal d' Artagnan had got together as many troops as he could, and thoſe under the Chevalier de Luxembourg joined them the ſame night. But notwithſtanding they made a pretty conſiderable body, and that their poſt was very advantageous, they retired with ſo great precipitation upon the approach of the Allies, that they left part of their tents and baggage behind them. Bridges being then laid over the Scarpe, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was detached with 12 ſquadrons to fall on the rear of the enemy, who retired ſo faſt, that his Highneſs overtook only ſome few of them, and made them priſoners. The army under the Duke of Marlborough paſſed the Scarpe the ſame night, encamping the right near Vitry on that river, and the left at Gouy. Prince Eugene, with his diviſion, remained on the other ſide of the Scarpe to inveſt Doway, the ſiege whereof had been reſolved upon. That place indeed was of great importance for the further proſecution of their Highneſſes deſigns, becauſe boats with all manner of proviſions might come up thither from Ghent. General Cadogan marched therefore the

Paſſage of the Scarp.

23d,

23d, to take poſt at Pont a Rais, and other detachments were made to open a communication over the Lower Scarpe with Liſle and Tournay. The enemy in the mean time quitted St. Amand, Marchiende, and the abby of Haſnon below Doway, and retired towards Cambray, about which place they propoſed to aſſemble their Grand army. 1710

All things being diſpoſed for beſieging Doway in the uſual form, both armies made a motion to inveſt the place. The army under Prince Eugene reached from Vitry on the Scarpe to Pont Oby, and that under the Duke of Marlborough from the other ſide of the Scarpe over-againſt Vitry to Pont a Rais. The 24th was ſpent in laying ſeveral bridges below and above Doway, on the Scarpe and the canal, and on the 25th they began to work on the lines of circumvallation. They continued theſe with great expedition, advanced with the main army, and took all other meaſures for facilitating their enterpriſe till the 30th, when his Grace received a good number of faſcines, gabions, and other proviſions; and the ſame day learned that the garriſon of Doway conſiſted of 4 ſquadrons of dragoons, and 17 battalions, but that their battalions were not complete. Some ſluices which the enemy had broke on the Upper Deule, and which the Duke of Marlborough had ordered to be repaired, were now brought into ſuch a condition, as rendered that river navigable as far as Oby. The 1ſt of May 800 men were detached from Prince Eugene's army to attack the caſtle of Pignonville, near the fort Scarpe, which would have annoyed the beſiegers in their approaches; and, after an hour's reſiſtance, the garriſon, conſiſting of about 100 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war. In the mean time, the generals cauſed a camp to be marked out between Lens and Eſquerchin, to draw up the army, in caſe the enemy made any motion that way; for they had nothing to fear on the other ſide. *Doway inveſted.*

The

1710

The neceſſary preparations being made, 40 battalions were appointed for the ſiege, under the Princes of Anhalt-Deſſau and Naſſau-Frieſland, both generals of foot, with 4 lieutenant-generals under them, 8 major-generals, and 8 brigadiers; and the 4th, at night, the trenches were opened on the North-ſide of the Scarpe, between the gates of Ocre and Eſquerchin, with ſo much order, that the enemy did not perceive it till about 3 the next morning, when they diſcovered the approaches conſiderably advanced, and the men already covered. There were two attacks; and 4 battalions, with 3000 workmen, were commanded for each. When the enemy had ſeen the approaches, they made a terrible fire upon the workmen, but to no great purpoſe, for only three men were killed. Beſides the 17 battalions in the town, the French had 3 battalions in fort Scarpe: but as they did not expect to be ſo ſoon inveſted, a great number of officers were abſent from their commands, and the Allies took ſeveral of them as they endeavoured to throw themſelves into the place.

The trenches open'd.

On the 7th, about 10 at night, the beſieged, to the number of 1000 foot, moſt grenadiers, and 200 dragoons made a ſalley, under the command of the Brigadier Duke de Mortemar, againſt the beſiegers left attack; put the workmen into diſorder, and levelled ſome paces of their parallel. Colonel Sutton's regiment, which was the firſt that ſupported the workmen, ſuffered very much: but Major-General Macartney, with the other regiments in the trenches, coming up to their relief, the enemies were repulſed with a conſiderable loſs, and purſued to their counterſcarp. The action was very hot, and the Engliſh had about 300 men killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Gledhill, of Sutton's regiment, was wounded and taken priſoner. Hereupon the engineers thought fit to order ſome redoubts to be caſt

The garriſon make a ſalley.

caſt up along the trenches, for the better ſecurity of them againſt any other ſalley. 1710

Motions of the armies.

The 10th all the quarter-maſters were ordered to go and mark the ground appointed for their reſpective troops, in caſe the generals thought it neceſſary, upon the motions of the enemy, to draw up the army, which then was to take up the whole ground between the marſhes of Aunay and the Scarpe. Marſhal Villars arrived about this time in the French army, which lay encamped in ſeveral bodies near Bethune, Bapaume, Arras, Cambray, Landrecy, and behind the river Somme. As the camp marked out for the Allies, in the plain of Lens, was very ſtrong, the enemies talked of paſſing the Scheld between Bouchain and Denain, and coming at them by the plain of Oſtrevant, between the Scheld and the Lower Scarpe. This made the Duke of Marlborough, with the other generals, go to view the country between the Lower Scarpe and the rivulet of Senſet, which falls into the Scheld at Bouchain, and mark out a camp on that ſide, that the army might be drawn that way upon the firſt motion of the enemy.

It is needleſs to relate all the particulars of this tedious and bloody ſiege, which laſted 52 days from the opening of the trenches; or all the motions of the two armies, which kept ſo near each other, that the officers on both ſides had free converſation together. The reader need only be informed, that as the garriſon of Doway had only two narrow attacks to defend, in which the beſiegers were obliged to advance by the way of ſap; and being very numerous, and well provided, they made frequent ſallies, in which a great number of men were loſt on both ſides; and ſprung ſeveral mines, that deſtroyed the works of the beſiegers: and that Marſhal Villars, after his arrival in the neighbourhood of the town, kept the Duke of Marlborough in continual alarm, and the whole

Con-

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Confederate army in expectation of a battle, which the Marſhal however had no intention to hazard. I ſhall only give one inſtance of the civilities that paſſed between the adverſe generals, which at the ſame time may ſerve for a ſpecimen of M. de Villars's gallant temper.

An interview between the Prince of Heſſe and Marſhal Villars.

One morning the generals of the French army, with about 200 officers, came to take a view of the inundation on the Scarpe, between that river and Bouchain; and the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel happening to be there, M. de Villars ſent to know whether he would give him leave to ſalute him. His Highneſs conſented, advanced with ſome officers to meet the Marſhal, and told him, that he was very glad to be acquainted with him. They exchanged ſeveral compliments; and M. de Villars preſented to him the Marſhals of Berwick, d'Arco, and Monteſquiou, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Chevalier de St. George; telling him, in ſhewing the latter, *This is the Chevalier de St. George;* and adding, *You know well enough who he is.* He invited his Highneſs to come to his camp, and honour him with his company at dinner; adding, "That he would "command his army to their arms, and paſs "them in review before him." The Prince anſwered, "That he could not accept his compli-"ment at preſent; but that it might happen up-"on another opportunity;" concluding, "That "it only depended on the King to procure that "opportunity ſoon." They then parted with mutual civilities, the Prince returning to his poſt, and the French generals to their camp.

While the ſiege of Doway was advancing ſlowly, ſeveral detachments marched from the camp of the Allies to Liſle, pretending they came to ſecure the paſſage of the Lys, and re-fortify Warneton: but it ſoon appeared that their buſineſs was to favour an enterpriſe contrived by the famous partiſan Baptiſte, which however miſcarried, when they

they thought themſelves almoſt ſure of putting it in execution. That partiſan, knowing that the enemy had a very ſmall garriſon in Ypres, reſolved to ſurpriſe that place; and the generals having approved his project, 5 or 6000 men were ordered to ſecond it. They marched with all poſſible ſecrecy, and the partiſan, who advanced before with ſome of his men, found means to get within the barrier: but the centinel, happening to know him perſonally, pulled up the draw-bridge, gave the alarm, and (the garriſon coming on) Baptiſte was taken with ſome of his men, and ſome others were killed. The troops which were advanced near the barrier, to ſuſtain that enterprize, ſeeing the deſign diſcovered, retired.

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An attempt on Ypres miſcarries.

On June 25, at 2 in the afternoon, the garriſon of Doway beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town only, without including Fort Scarpe: but this being refuſed, they ſent hoſtages to both attacks, and received others from the Princes of Anhalt and Naſſau. The French hoſtages were conducted to the Duke of Marlborough's quarters, where they were again told, that no capitulation could be granted to the town, without including Fort Scarpe; and orders were given to the troops in the trenches to hold themſelves in a readineſs to renew the hoſtilities. But the 26th in the morning, M. Albergotti, who commanded in the fort, ſignified that he was willing to ſurrender it at the ſame time as the town, but that it not being attacked, he expected to remove all the proviſions and ammunition that were in it. This demand occaſioned a conference in Prince Eugene's quarters; where, at laſt, the capitulation for the town and Fort Scarpe was agreed upon and ſigned. The ſubſtance of the principal articles was, that the Romiſh religion ſhould continue there without alteration: that the gate of Morel ſhould be delivered up the 27th, and

The garriſons of Doway and Fort Scarpe capitulated.

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and the garriſon ſhould march out the 29th: and that all officers, military and civil, ſhould have the uſual tokens of honour, 6 cannon and 2 mortars, and 2 days proviſions, to Cambray.

They march out.

In purſuance of theſe and other conditions, the gate of Morel and the outworks of Fort Scarpe were delivered up to the Allies, and commiſſaries were appointed to take poſſeſſion of the magazines, and view the mines, which were diſcovered by the garriſon. M. Albergotti, having dined the 27th with the Prince of Naſſau, and the 28th with the Duke of Marlborough, marched out the 29th at the head of his garriſon, and ſaluted the princes and other generals of the Allies; and having marched to ſome diſtance, came back and continued with them till all his troops were filed off. Then five Dutch battalions and one Saxon, marched into the place, of which Lieutenant-General Hompeſch took poſſeſſion as Governor; as did Brigadier des Roques, Engineer-General of the States, of Fort Scarpe. The generals went afterwards to viſit the place, and orders were given to level the works, and repair the breaches with all poſſible ſpeed. They found in the place 40 pieces of braſs cannon, 200 of iron, 8 mortars, with ammunition and ſmall arms; but perceived that proviſions had begun to grow ſhort.

On the 30th, when the Duke of Marlborough went into the town to view it, he was met and complimented by the univerſity in a body; and M. Adrian Delcourt, Provoſt of St. Peter, and chancellor of that learned body, made to him the following ſpeech:

My

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Speech of the Chancellor of the univerſity of Doway to the Duke of Marlborough

My Lord,

" We come to aſſure your Highneſs of our " moſt humble reſpects, and of the inviolable " fidelity we ſhall have towards our new ſove- " reign. 'Tis with much joy and juſtice that we " pay you our devoirs. We cannot ſufficiently " reſpect a Sovereign Prince of the Empire, a " Duke, a Generaliſſimo of the armies of Great- " Britain, a Hero whoſe victories and conqueſts " have amazed the world. Germany and the " Netherlands are, my Lord, eye-witneſſes of " your heroic actions. You have beaten your " enemies at Hockſtedt, Ramillies, Oudenarde " and Blaregnies: you have forced lines in Ger- " many which ſeemed impenetrable, and in Bra- " bant you have broken into others by a ſingular " conduct, in ſight of a powerful army, which " you put into confuſion: you have conquered the " country of Liege, the Spaniſh Gelderland, Bra- " bant, Flanders, and part of Hainault: You go " from conqueſt to conqueſt, and the leaſt ſtep " you advance further, you ſubdue a whole " kingdom. We do not compare you, my Lord, " with Heroes of antiquity, whoſe great actions " were ſullied with all manner of vices: you are " a Hero, wiſe, moderate, juſt, gracious, gene- " rous, and equally averſe to cruelty and de- " bauchery. No wonder then that the Emperor " has made you a Prince of the empire; that the " Queen of Great-Britain has conferred the high- " eſt honours and multiplied favours upon you; " that her parliaments have given you all poſſible " proofs of eſteem and affection, and that the " French themſelves have on a thouſand occaſions " proclaimed your praiſes. We ſhould never have " done, my Lord, ſhould we enter into a more " particular ſurvey of all your heroic actions and " your admirable qualities; but we muſt con- " ſider that we ought not to detain too long a " Prince whoſe moments are ſo precious. Give

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" us leave only to deſire the protection of your " highneſs for our univerſity, which ſtands in " great need of it. We might, in a revolution, " be expoſed to ſome ſtorm inconſiſtent with that " peace and tranquillity which are ſo neceſſary " to make the ſciences flouriſh; but we ſhall have " no cauſe to entertain any fear, if you are plea- " ſed to grant us the favour we moſt humbly aſk. " We ſhall be infinitely obliged to you, my " Lord, for it, and ſhall offer up our prayers to " God for the Queen of Great-Britain, your " Highneſs, and the happy ſucceſs of all your " enterpriſes.

The armies in motion.

A great convoy of bread and other proviſions being come to the camp from Tournay, and the ſeveral detachments that were poſted on the road, for the ſecurity of a communication during the ſiege, having joined the other forces, the two armies marched the 10th of June. They were obliged to halt the next day at Vimy, for the coming-up of their baggage and the bread-waggons, which had been retarded in their march by the badneſs of the roads; but were ſo well ſecured by a rear-guard of 30 ſquadrons, that the enemy, tho' they had made ſeveral bridges over the Scarpe, did not think fit to attempt any thing upon them. The next day the armies encamped at Villars Brulin, extending from the right upon the ſource of the Lave to the left upon the river of Lens, with the Scarpe before them, where their ſituation was ſuch, that parties were at liberty to make incurſions into the enemy's country from the Boulonnois to Picardy. In the mean time Marſhal Villars, being joined likewiſe by ſeveral detachments, and having drawn out the garriſons of Conde, Queſnoy, Valenciennes, and Cambray, made a movement with his army, and encamped behind the new lines, from Arras along the Crinchon towards Miramont.

The

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The Princes of Savoy and Marlborough, ſeeing the impoſſibility to attack the French with any good hopes of ſucceſs, or to inveſt Arras, thought fit to beſiege Bethune, and for that purpoſe detached the 15th of July 25 battalions, and 18 ſquadrons, which inveſted that place the ſame day. There were two attacks, one commanded by General Schulemburg, and the other by the Baron de Fagel, and the cavalry under them was commanded by Lieutenant-General Wood. The neceſſary preparations being made for that ſiege, the trenches were opened the 23d at night, and the works conſiderably advanced without any loſs. The 24th the garriſon made a vigorous ſally, which occaſioned a ſharp diſpute, in which about 100 men on each ſide were killed, and a great many wounded. The artillery being arrived, they began to fire in the beginning of Auguſt, by which time the Allies had found means to drain an inundation, which covered the weakeſt part of the place.

Bethune inveſted.

The French had ſo poſitively given out, that they would fight the Allies, if they undertook another ſiege, that on the 31ſt of July, when their army marched out of their entrenchments, it was believed M. de Villars would attack the confederate armies, who lying in a camp, without any entrenchments, gave him a fair opportunity. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene thereupon drew up the forces in order of battle, and recalled the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was poſted with a ſtrong detachment between Lens and La Baſſe, to ſecure the convoys from Liſle and Tournay: But on the 1ſt of Auguſt, when the Duke of Marlborough advanced with a detachment to obſerve the French army, he found, that, inſtead of preparing to fight, they were caſting up a new line and entrenchments from the river Ugy, that falls into the Scarpe about Arras, to the ſource of the river Cance; which gave him an undeniable

A battle expected.

1710

proof, that they had no deſign to diſturb the ſiege of Bethune. That place was very ſtrong, however, by art and nature, and M. du Puy Vauban, nephew to the famous engineer of that name, being governor of it, every body expected a brave defence.

In effect, the ſiege was pretty long, and the defence obſtinate: But at laſt, Meſſieurs Schulemburg and Fagel having carried on their attacks with all poſſible vigour and taken ſword in hand the counterſcarp, M. du Puy Vauban beat a parley the 28th of Auguſt, and deſired to capitulate. The hoſtages being exchanged, an officer was ſent to the grand army, to inform the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough. Their highneſſes went to the camp of the beſiegers the next morning, when the articles were ſigned, and a gate delivered up to the Allies the ſame day. The 31ſt the garriſon marched out with all the marks of honour, to the number of 1700 men, having loſt near 2000 in the defence of the town. In the room of theſe the Allies put 3 battalions, under the command of Major-General Keppel. It was very obſervable that M. de Villars offered to give the Allies no diſturbance during this whole ſiege, but was contented to keep himſelf behind his lines.

Bethune capitulates.

The French repulſed in attacking P. Eugene's Foragers.

The right wing of Prince Eugene's army going out one morning to forage, in the front towards St. Pol, under a guard of 500 horſe, and 1000 Daniſh and Heſſian foot; Marſhal Villars, having notice of it the night before, detached 30 ſquadrons under the Count de Broglio to attack the foragers, and followed in perſon to be an eye-witneſs of that action. That general being arrived on the mount of St. Pol, ordered the foragers to be attacked on that ſide by 4 ſquadrons of Carabineers, while ſome other ſquadrons were advancing to attack them another way. They fell upon 3 of the Imperial ſquadrons, which gave way; but the foragers, joining with their guard, beat

beat the enemy back with great ſlaughter: and, as they retired by the villages of Gouy and Ternois, the Daniſh and Heſſian infantry poſted there made ſuch a fire upon them that many were killed. M. de Villars advanced in perſon, and, having in a manner ſurrounded that poſt, ſummoned the infantry to ſurrender, and, upon their refuſal, ordered part of his horſe to diſmount to attack them; But the French were ſo warmly received, that they retired in diſorder; and in the mean time the piquet-guard of the army advancing, and Prince Eugene marching with part of his cavalry, M. de Villars thought fit to retire with precipitation, leſt this ſhould occaſion a general action, having loſt a great many men, beſides a colonel, and 20 other officers, with 300 private men made priſoners, and 150 horſes. The Allies loſt on their ſide the major of Merci's regiment, 2 captains of Huſſars, and ſome few private men made priſoners. Next morning the Huſſars brought in 235 horſes and mules, beſides a great number of oxen, which they took near the enemies camp. 1710

The Princes of Savoy and Marlborough, being willing to make a good uſe of the remaining part of the fair ſeaſon, reſolved to beſiege Aire and St. Venant at the ſame time. Accordingly on † the 2d of September the two armies marched from their reſpective camps of Villars Burlin and Rebreuvre, and the 3d a detachment was made to ſecure ſeveral poſts about Aire, which took in the caſtle of Iſbergue a captain, a lieutenant, and 70 private men priſoners; beſides a captain and 30 grenadiers in the village of Lambre. The 4th a detachment of 2000 horſe and 6 battalions marched from the camp to make bridges over the Lys at St. Quintin, paſs that river, and block up Aire on that ſide, while the armies marched nearer that place. The troops which had been employed in the ſiege of Bethune joined them in

Aire and St. Venant inveſted.

† See the journal of the army.

1710 their march, and thoſe deſigned for the ſieges of Aire and St. Venant, marched the 5th, and the 6th inveſted thoſe places. There were 40 battalions employed in the ſiege of Aire, under the command of the Prince of Anhalt; and 20 battalions in that of St. Venant under the Prince of Naſſau Frieſland. The horſe in thoſe two ſieges conſiſted of 46 ſquadrons, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle. The heavy artillery and ammunition were brought up the Lys to Mirville near St. Venant, and a good guard of horſe and foot was appointed for the ſecurity of the boats. The quarter-maſters alſo marked out a field of battle for the armies, in caſe the French made any motion to relieve Aire.

The trenches were opened before Aire the 12th, at two attacks, one on the ſide of St. Quintin, and the other on the ſide of the village of Lambre, which were both carried on with a great deal of ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the ground, and the defence of the garriſon. The approaches of St. Venant being very difficult, they could not break ground before that place till the 16th; but the attack was carried on with ſo much vigour, that on the 29th the garriſon beat a parley, and the next day delivered up a gate. They marched out with arms and baggage, and other marks of honour, but no cannon, and were conducted to Arras. The Sieur Bruyn, one of the engineers of the States, who had the direction of the ſiege, was made governor of the place.

St. Venant capitulates.

A convoy of the Allies ſurpriſed.

As the Allies were obliged to get their proviſions and ammunition from Liſle, Tournay, and Ghent, the enemy reſolved to ſurpriſe a convoy of ſeveral boats coming up the Lys from the laſt place, with a guard of 1200 men, who were to be re-inforced by another detachment. Accordingly M. Ravignan, with 4000 men from Ypres, attacked them the 19th of September at St. Eloy Vive, not far from Courtray; beat the guard, killed about 200 men,

men, took 600 priſoners, blew up ſome boats laden with ammunition, ſunk ſome others laden with cannon ball and bomb-ſhells, to interrupt the navigation of the Lys, and then retired with ſo much diligence and precaution, that a detachment of the Allies, which was ſent to cut off his retreat, could not effect it. The priſoners, being exchanged, were ſent back from Ypres to their reſpective regiments: and, to prevent the like attempt for the future, 22 ſquadrons and 9 battalions marched to encamp at St. Eloy Vive; and the country people were ſummoned to weigh up the boats laden with bomb-ſhells and balls, and clear the paſſage of the Lys. Another detachment of 1500 horſe and 1000 foot marched to Warneton, to ſecure the convoys from Liſle. 1710

This ſiege was carried on with ſome ſucceſs; and the beſiegers attacking a redoubt on the right, they took it with little reſiſtance and loſs. The enemy ſent a body of troops to ſuſtain it, and a great many officers, who were then at dinner with M. Goesbriant governor of that place, came out with them as voluntiers: but as they paſſed under the beſiegers batteries and parallels, the greateſt part of them were either killed or wounded, and a Colonel of dragoons taken priſoner. Some nights after, the enemy ſallied out with 400 fuſileers and 200 workmen; but were repulſed with the loſs of 40 men killed on the ſpot, and did no manner of damage. The ſame day there happened a vigorous ſkirmiſh near the village of Rebeck, on the banks of the Lys. The enemy advanced with 1000 horſe, to beat up the quarters of the Confederate general-officers on the right, and were ſo warmly received by the guard that covered them, that the piquet having had time to come up to their aſſiſtance, 450 of them were killed on the ſpot, and 12 officers, with 220 troopers, all mounted, taken priſoners. The Allies took, beſides, 300 horſes, without any other

The French worſted in two ſkirmiſhes.

1710

other loſs on their ſide than of 40 men killed or wounded.

A deſign on Fort Scarpe fruſtrated.

On the 26th, the Chevalier de Luxemburg deſigned to ſurpriſe Fort Scarpe, and in order thereto marched from Bouchain with a ſtrong detachment to Pont a Rache, ſent 100 men in the night into the wood of Bellefonties, near the fort, and had two waggons loaded with hay, in which were hid ſome grenadiers. Theſe waggons were driven by ſome other ſoldiers diſguiſed as boors, who were to ſeize the barrier, and, upon a ſignal, to be ſupported by the others, and then by M. de Luxemburg himſelf. But Major-General Ammama coming at the ſame time to viſit General Hompeſch, (who, having ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign of the enemy, was gone into the fort to give the neceſſary orders for its ſecurity) left his guard without the barrier. Theſe men walking their horſes, and following the waggons by meer chance, the enemy believed they were diſcovered, and ſo ran away, leaving the captain and one of their men priſoners.

The ſiege of Aire continued much longer than had been expected; the badneſs of the weather, the ſituation of the place, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, all contributing to retard the progreſs of it. The only way the beſiegers had to advance, was by the ſap and bridges; and theſe were every day liable to be ruined by ſallies from the garriſon. At laſt, on the 8th of November, when the ſaps were all joined, and the bridges to the breaches in the baſtion and curtain on the ſide of Lambre were almoſt finiſhed, the beſiegers were prevented from proceeding to a ſtorm by the governor's beating the chamade between five and ſix in the evening, and deſiring to capitulate. The hoſtages were exchanged about ten, and conſiſted on each ſide of a Brigadier, a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel and a Major. Theſe of the French came to the Duke of Marlborough's quarters, where

Aire capitulates.

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where the capitulation was ſigned the 9th in the evening, by which the town and the fort St. Francis were delivered up to the Allies, and a gate of each was put into their poſſeſſion the ſame night. The ſubſtance of the articles was, "That the gate of Arras ſhould immediately, "upon ſigning the articles, be delivered up to "the Allies: that all acts of hoſtility ſhould "ceaſe, and care be taken to prevent any diſ-"orders from the officers or ſoldiers on the one "ſide or the other: that the garriſon ſhould "march out the 11th, with the uſual marks of "honour, and be conducted to St. Omer: that "ſo many as deſired it ſhould have three months "time allowed them to remain in the city, and "diſpoſe of their effects: that the ſick and "wounded ſhould remain in the town till their "recovery: that deſerters ſhould be delivered "up, and priſoners exchanged: and that a faith-"ful diſcovery ſhould be made of all the mines, "and the keys of the magazines ſhould be de-"livered up to the Allies."

Is delivered up.

The garriſon, upon the ſollicitation of the governor, obtained a day more than was agreed to by the capitulation, to provide carriages and other neceſſaries. The whole body conſiſted of 15 battalions of foot, and 3 ſquadrons of dragoons, amounting to no more than 3628 men; their numbers having been much diminiſhed by the loſſes they ſuſtained during the ſiege; and there being, beſides thoſe that were killed, above 1500 wounded left behind. As ſoon as the enemy had evacuated the town, the Count de Naſſau Woudenbourg, who had been nominated the governor, marched in with 8 battalions, appointed for the winter garriſon, and detachments were immediately ordered to clear the breaches, and work upon ſuch other reparations as were moſt neceſſary. As ſoon as the troops that had been employed in levelling the approaches, had finiſh-

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ed their works, the diſpoſitions were made for the winter quarters.

The Generals repair to their reſpective courts.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene arrived at the Hague the 28th of November, and the next day were ſeparately complimented by all the foreign miniſters and other perſons of note. Theſe compliments being over, their Highneſſes, with the Count de Zinzendorf and the Lord Townſend, had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States-General, to concert the number of forces to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of King Charles, and the time of their departure. Prince Eugene then ſet out for Vienna, and the Duke of Marlborough for England, where he arrived the 28th of December.

The Duke of Marlborough ill treated at home.

But, notwithſtanding that his Grace had been highly complimented abroad, he found, at his return, nothing but ill-fortune at home. There had been an entire change in the Britiſh miniſtry, the motives and manner of which I ſhall not relate, as it would be fretting thoſe national ſores which are yet but too imperfectly healed. The conſequences of this alteration, however, were, that his * Ducheſs, and other great perſons, whoſe friendſhip was very dear to him, were diſmiſſed from their places; that the new elections ran againſt his friends; that his Grace was daily reproached by *examiners*, *poſt-boys*, and other publick libels, for ingratitude, and attempts to be a general for life; and he received orders to diſcard ſome general officers for ſpeaking certain raſh words, taken to be too partial in his cauſe: nevertheleſs, he obeyed theſe orders with all imaginable regard.

It was otherwiſe however with the citizens of London than with the new courtiers. His Grace was uſhered into that city by the joyful acclamations of multitudes of the people with lighted flambeaux:

* Churchill's Annals.

flambeaux: but, as he never courted popularity, he ordered his coachman to drive to Montague-Houſe; from whence, after an hour or two's reſt, he went out at a private door, without any attendants, to St. James's palace, where he immediately waited upon the Queen, who received him with all the outward marks of an entire confidence and ſatisfaction. The great officers of State paid him their compliments next morning; and, among others, Mr. Harley, the very perſon who had the greateſt ſhare in the new favours of the court. 1710

Yet outwardly careſſed.

In the mean time, the uncertainty whether the Duke would be continued in the command caſt a great damp upon the publick credit; ſo that the moſt ſubſtantial citizens wiſhed, that in order to remove that doubt, one or both houſes of parliament would honour his Grace with their thanks: but his friends in the houſe of Lords having been already diſappointed in a motion for that purpoſe, did not care to attempt it again; and thoſe his Grace had among the Commons, thinking themſelves too few, declined it till a better opportunity. This made many apprehend, that the Duke would gratify his diſguſt, and reſign his commiſſion, with all his other offices; but his Grace, having promiſed the States-General not to abandon the common cauſe, concerted meaſures as frankly with the new miniſtry as he had done with the old; and ſince his Ducheſs had incurred the Queen's diſpleaſure, he voluntarily ſurrendered all her places; which was ſo acceptable to her Majeſty, that ſhe renewed his commiſſion, and made a diſpoſition of the other generals to his entire ſatisfaction.

Publick credit ſinks on his account.

His commiſſion renewed.

But, before I return again to the Netherlands, I muſt, according to my cuſtom, take a ſhort retroſpect of the ſtate of things elſewhere, at the end of the laſt campaign. Beſides the great advantages obtained by the Duke of Marlborough, the

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The campaign in Spain.

the ſucceſs of the arms of the Allies in Spain deſerves to be particularly conſidered, and the more, becauſe in the beginning of the campaign there was little cauſe to entertain any hopes on that ſide, thro' the ſuperiority of the enemy in cavalry; but rather reaſon to fear the loſs of Balaguer, a place of great importance at that time to King Charles. The enemy advanced to attack it; but the Allies, tho' much inferior in number, obliged them to give over that deſign: and ſhortly after, when they advanced again to attack the Allies in their camp near that place, they were once more obliged to retire. Some time after, King Charles, having been reinforced with a good body of troops from Italy, which in their way diſappointed the enterpriſe of the enemy againſt Sardinia, overtook the rear of the French army near Almenara, and cauſed their cavalry to be attacked with ſo much bravery, that, tho' they were much ſuperior in number, they retired in confuſion under Lerida, as did the reſt of their army. This advantage was ſoon after followed by the memorable battle of Sarragoſſa, whereby the Duke of Anjou loſt great part of his army, and was forced to retire into Old Caſtile, leaving to King Charles the ſeat of the kingdom, Arragon, and the other provinces on both ſides the Tagus, the moſt fruitful part of Spain; by means of which conqueſts, the communication of the enemy by land with Andaluſia, Murcia, Granada and Valencia, was cut off.

Places ſtill poſſeſſed by the enemy.

Notwithſtanding this ſignal ſucceſs, the enemy was ſtill poſſeſſed of ſome Spaniſh places upon the coaſt of Tuſcany, which have been always thought neceſſary for preſerving the communication between Spain and its dominions in Italy. They were ſtill maſters of Sicily, the Dutchy of Savoy, and the county of Nice. The Duke of Anjou was in poſſeſſion of a great part of Spain itſelf, ſo that that kingdom, as it were, was torn in pieces and divided.

divided. The ſea-ports were ſtill in the power of France, with all the Spaniſh Indies. The Upper Rhine, from Huninghen to the Queiſch, Briſac and fort Kehl, beſides the city of Straſburgh, juſtly eſteemed the bulwark of the empire, were all ſtill in the hands of Lewis XIV. This was thought ſufficient cauſe for continuing the war with new vigour: nor did the King of France this Winter make any publick propoſals of peace, tho' his miniſters were dealing underhand with the new miniſtry of Great Britain. In the mean time, the States-General received a letter from the Britiſh Queen, wherein her Majeſty encouraged them to exert their utmoſt efforts for aſſiſting the King of Spain, and carrying on the war with more vigour than ever; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that nothing ſhould be omitted on her part to bring this great work to its concluſion. Their High-Mightineſſes, in return, ſignified that they were fully reſolved to follow the example of her Majeſty; but, as it was but reaſonable, that all the members of the grand alliance ſhould do the ſame, they were reſolved to write letters to the dyet at Ratiſbon, to the directors of the circles, and the Electors and Princes of the Empire, to exhort them to take better meaſures than in the preceding years, for forming an army on the Upper Rhine, and putting it in a condition to ſecond the efforts of their Allies. Theſe letters were accordingly ſent with all expedition.

1710

The Allies reſolve to continue war.

All things were preparing early on both ſides for opening the campaign; but the ſeaſon being very backward, the troops did not leave their quarters ſo ſoon as it was intended. Mean time the Allies provided large magazines of dry forage, and made other diſpoſitions to take the field before the French, who on their parts uſed all poſſible application to diſappoint the deſigns of the Allies. As the Queen was pleaſed, upon the preſſ-

1711

1711

The Duke goes to Holland.

ing inſtances of the States-General, to ſend the Duke of Marlborough over to Holland betimes, his Grace arrived there the 4th of March, to the great ſatisfaction of the States, and all the miniſters of the Allies, who wanted his preſence and council in ſeveral weighty affairs. Accordingly he was daily in conference with the deputies of the States, to concert the operations of war: and in order to prevent the enemy, and be in the field before them, it was reſolved to have a great body conſiſting of detachments of all the garriſons, cantoned along the Scarpe and the canal of Doway. Theſe detachments were from time to time reinforced by others; but ſuch care was taken to conceal their number, that the enemy could have no account of it.

* Prince Eugene was detained in Germany much longer than he expected, (being ſtopped at Nuremberg by the advice of the Emperor's death) and the time of opening the campaign drawing nigh, the Duke of Marlborough, without waiting the arrival of his colleague, took his leave of the States, and ſet out for the Hague the 23d of April. He embarked the ſame day at Streyn-Saas, on board a yacht of the States, which conducted him to Ghent, where he arrived the 25th, and the next day at Tournay, near which place the troops were encamped in ſeveral bodies. His Grace having held a council of war with the Generals and deputies of the States, it was reſolved that thoſe bodies ſhould join and form the army. This was done accordingly the 30th, and the army encamped the right on the Marc and the left on the Scarpe, the town of Orchies being in the center, where the Duke took his quarters. Upon theſe motions the French drew likewiſe together, and encamped behind the Senſet, the right to Oiſy, and the left to Mouchy le Procuſe, having diverted the

Joins the army.

* Mercure hiſtorique & politique, pour l'An. 1711.

the courſe of the Scarpe at Bloche; whereby that river fell into the Senſet, and rendered their camp altogether inacceſſible on the left and in the front, while their flank was covered by the Scheld. 1711

The Duke of Marlborough decamped the 1ſt of May, and the army having paſſed the Scarpe, partly at Pont a Rache and partly at Marchienne, encamped all along the road from Doway to Valenciennes, the left to Sommain, and the right to Goulezin. But nothing material happened except that on the 9th 3000 French, detached from Valenciennes and Conde, attacked at Tuns, between St. Amand and Mortagne, a convoy of 45 boats, laden with hay and oats for the Confederate army, which was ſet out from Tournay, under a guard of 2 battalions commanded by Brigadier-Chambrier. The action was very hot; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the guard, the enemy burnt 12 boats: but the garriſon of St. Amand coming to the aſſiſtance of the guard, the French retired, having had about 100 men killed and wounded; the loſs on the ſide of the Allies being near the ſame. Mean while, the Prince of Savoy arrived at Ghent from the Hague, whither he came the 5th of the ſame month.

A convoy attacked by the French.

On the 14th of June the Confederate armies decamped, and that under the Duke of Marlborough, having paſſed the canal of Arleux and the Scarpe in ſight of the enemy, encamped in the plain of Lens. Hereupon Marſhal Villars marched from his camp behind the Senſet, and encamped with his front every where covered by the Scarpe, and Arras in the center. The army of Prince Eugene having paſſed the Scarpe below Doway marched to Orchies, from whence the Danes, Saxons, and Heſſians rejoined the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and the Imperialiſts and Palatines, conſiſting of 50 ſquadrons and 12

Motions of the armies.

1711 battalions, marched towards Bruſſels, in order to proceed to the Upper Rhine, to reinforce the Imperial army, and put it in a condition to oppoſe the French, who had ſtrengthened their troops on that ſide with two detachments from the army, of M. de Villars, and ſome other troops.

Reports were now given out by the enemy, that M. de Villars would attack the Allies; and, to render them more credible, he aſſembled all his forces behind his lines, and laid bridges over the Scarpe. He made no motion, however, that tended to any engagement, but on the contrary continued in his former camp, and fortified his lines with ſeveral new redoubts. The 19th, he made a detachment of grenadiers, ſuſtained by 400 huſſars, with a deſign to ſurpriſe a poſt the Allies had taken at the convent of Winy: but Colonel Chomley of the Britiſh guards, who commanded 300 men there, gave the enemy ſo warm a reception, that they retired upon the firſt fire, leaving a captain of grenadiers and ſeveral other men killed on the ſpot. The 22d, a Major, with 100 dragoons and as many huſſars, advanced to the banks of the Scarpe over-againſt the enemy's camp, where they had laid ſome bridges for the paſſage of their patroles; and, having left the greateſt part of his detachment at ſome diſtance from the river, advanced with the reſt to ſhew themſelves to the enemy, who taking the alarm, ſent 300 huſſars to purſue his men. The Major retreated ſlowly towards the place where he had left his main body, and then charged the enemy with ſo much vigour, that they killed 40 of them, took 2 captains, a cornet, and 17 other priſoners. There happened ſeveral other ſkirmiſhes during the vicinity of the two armies, in which the Allies had generally the advantage, but which we think it immaterial to relate, in order to paſs to ſomething more important, the getting into

Detachments of the enemy defeated.

into the lines of the French, which M. de Villars called the *ne plus ultra* of the Allies. 1711

On the 4th of Auguſt, by break of day, the Duke of Marlborough marched from the camp of Villars Brulin, with a detachment of 2000 horſe, and the greateſt part of the grenadiers, to the mill of Givency le Noble, to take a view of the lines of the enemy, and the ſituation of their camp. The lines appeared very ſtrong and well fortified, and guarded by all the troops that M. de Villars had been able to draw together upon the motion of the Allies that way. His Grace being returned to his camp, made the neceſſary diſpoſition to march back towards the Senſet, in order to get into the enemies lines, which had been all along his deſign, and the reaſon which obliged him to march from Cotte to Villars Brulin, that the enemy drawing their forces that way, he might have an opportunity to put his project in execution. In order thereto General Hompeſch was ſent to Doway, and was followed by the Lieutenant-Generals Cadogan and Murray, with orders to draw out the troops of that garriſon, and aſſemble ſome others, which upon pretences had been detached from Liſle and other parts, making in all 23 battalions and 17 ſquadrons. With theſe the generals were ordered to march to Arleux and Baca Bacheul, and poſt themſelves on the other ſide of the Senſet, there to continue till the army came up to ſuſtain them. This and other neceſſary diſpoſitions being made, Brigadier Sutton marched with the artillery and pontons, 4 battalions, and 350 horſe, with orders to lay bridges on the Scarpe near Vitry, and on the canal of Arleux about Goulezin. At 9 in the evening the whole army marched in 8 columns. The Duke of Marlborough, with the horſe of the left wing, marched before, being followed by the reſt of the army with a great deal of alacrity.

The Duke views the enemies lines.

1711 At 5 the next morning, his Grace paſſed the Scarpe at Vitry, where he received advice that the detachment under General Hompeſch had repaired the bridges the enemy had broken down about Arleux, ſo that he could paſs the Senſet without oppoſition, and take poſt about Oiſy. Whereupon the Duke ſent orders to the army to continue their march with all expedition, advanced with his cavalry to Arleux, to ſupport the detachment, and drew up his troops in order of battle on the oppoſite ſide the Senſet, as faſt as they paſſed that river. Marſhal Villars, who had been informed of this march, advanced with the head of his line of horſe, conſiſting of the troops of the houſhold, in hopes to hinder the Duke's paſſing the Senſet. He appeared in ſight of the Allies at 11 o'clock, and paſſed the defile of Marquion with 20 ſquadrons: but the Duke of Marlborough marching to attack him with the cavalry that he had drawn up, the enemy retired through the defile, and encamped behind it, where he was joined by the reſt of his forces, and in the mean time detached the Chevalier de Luxemburg, with two regiments of dragoons, to throw himſelf into Valenciennes, and ſent a brigade of foot to Cambray. He left 100 dragoons, and 8 officers in the caſtle of Oiſy, who ſurrendered priſoners of war. Mean time the army came up, and, notwithſtanding a march of 10 leagues without halting, were drawn up in order of battle as they arrived, becauſe the enemy gave out that they would attack them the next morning. It was expected that they would be as good as their word; but they poſted themſelves behind the moraſs of Inchi, where it was impoſſible to come at them; ſo that the Allies continued in the ſame poſt, while 6 battalions were detached to ſecure the bridges the enemy had abandoned. The ſame day advice came, that the enemy were in motion to paſs the Scheld at Crevecoeur, and poſt themſelves

He paſſes the Senſet.

ſelves between Cambray and Bouchain, to prevent the ſiege of the latter place: whereupon General Roſs, the Earl of Athlone, and the Major-Generals Groveſtein and St. Laurent, were commanded with 40 ſquadrons to endeavour to fall on their rear; but being advanced about half a league, they diſcovered the main body of the French army, from which they were ſeparated by a ſort of moraſs. The Duke of Marlborough then held a council of war with the generals of the army and the deputies of the States; wherein it was propoſed, whether they ſhould attack the enemy, or immediately paſs the Scheld. The latter was reſolved upon, leſt the enemy, having paſſed that river, ſhould hinder the Allies from paſſing it between Cambray and Bouchain, and conſequently prevent the ſiege. 1711

Accordingly the army paſſed the Scheld at Eſtreun, and General Roſs, with his detachment, was left to bring up the rear, and ſecure the artillery and light baggage. The 7th, about eight in the morning, all the troops were got over without any diſturbance from the enemy, and encamped the right to Juvy on the Scheld, about half way between Bouchain and Cambray, and the left to Neufville on the ſame river below Bouchain, making a ſort of demi-circle about that place. The ſame day the enemy having made a motion, Marſhal Villars cauſed a battery to be erected on the hills near St. Martin, from whence they fired upon the village where the Confederate generals of the right wing had their quarters, but without any effect. That day their right wing continued in ſight of the Allies, being parted by the Scheld. Mean while the Allies began to lay bridges below Bouchain at Neufville, to open a communication with Doway, and other places on the Scarpe, from whence they were to receive their proviſions and ammunition, and alſo for the paſſage of the troops to be employed in the *And the Scheld.*

1711 the ſiege of Bouchain. Next day the Brigadier Voorſt, with 1000 horſe, was ſent to meet the bread-waggons from Doway; and, upon advice that the enemy had ſent over the Senſet a great detachment, to intercept theſe waggons and the artillery from Pont a Rache, my Lord Duke paſſed the Scheld with the left wing of the horſe, and took poſt at the hill of Vignonette, where he continued till the convoy was ſafely arrived at Neufville. Then the right repaſſed the river at that place, and returned to the camp. The 9th in the morning Lieutenant-General Wood, with 2000 horſe, was detached to Marchienne to convoy the heavy baggage, which he brought ſafe to the camp. The ſame day, the ſiege of Bouchain being reſolved upon, 30 battalions and 12 ſquadrons were appointed for that ſervice, under the command of General Fagel.

Bouchain inveſted. The 10th, the troops deſigned for the ſiege marched to inveſt the place, and General Bulau was detached with 40 ſquadrons from the right, and paſſed the Scheld at Neufville, to continue there till the circumvallation was perfected. My Lord Duke went in perſon with that detachment, very early in the morning, to view the approaches of Bouchain, and ordered the lines of circumvallation to be made. But upon advice, that the French army had paſſed the Scheld, as if they would attack him, his Grace returned to the camp, cauſed the troops to take up arms, and advanced towards the enemy. The armies came very near; but it was impoſſible to come to any action, by reaſon of the difficult hollow-ways and defiles, whereby they were parted. The enemy returned in the evening to their camp, and the Allies to theirs; but for preventing any further alarm, my Lord Duke ordered ſeveral lunettes and redoubts to be made in the front of his camp, which might be joined by lines in caſe of need.

I ſhall

1711

I ſhall not enter on a detail of the manner of carrying on a ſiege, in order to relate what paſſed before Bouchain, where nothing happened peculiarly remarkable. It is ſufficient to ſay, that on the 11th of September the beſieged, ſeeing the breaches at the two attacks againſt the Upper town were very wide, and that all things were preparing for a general ſtorm, they thought fit to prevent it by a capitulation; and having beat a parley the next day about noon, they ſent hoſtages at all the attacks, and the Allies ſent others in return. The hoſtages for the Upper town were conducted to the quarters of General Fagel, where the Duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States, and ſeveral other generals repaired; and his Grace having held a council, the French hoſtages were called in. But when they offered to deliver their articles, my Lord Duke told them, "That he "would not have them read; and ſince they had "waited to the laſt extremity, they had no "other terms to expect, than to be priſoners of "war;" ordering them "to acquaint their com-"mander with it, and ſend back their hoſtages "if they would not accept this condition." The hoſtages being returned into the town, the governor would not ſurrender upon thoſe terms, and ſo the hoſtilities began again with ſuch a terrible fire, that ſoon after they hung out white flags at all the attacks, and beat a parley a ſecond time.

The garriſon propoſe conditions, which are rejected.

New hoſtages being exchanged, they propoſed to ſurrender priſoners of war, upon condition they ſhould march out with all the marks of honour, and be conducted into France, where they would do no manner of ſervice till they were exchanged. This demand being rejected, the governor agreed at laſt to ſurrender upon the terms propoſed by the Duke; but this debate taking up much time, the Allies were not in poſſeſſion of one of the gates till the 13th in the morning. The 14th, the garriſon having delivered 24 colours,

They ſurrender priſoners of war.

1711 ſours, and all their arms, marched out, and the ſoldiers were conducted to Marchienne, in order to be ſent to Holland; but the officers continued in Bouchain till further inſtructions. Major-General Groveſtein, being appointed governor of the place, took poſſeſſion of it with a detachment of troops. The garriſon, which conſiſted at firſt of 8 compleat battalions, 600 Swiſſers, and ſome dragoons, loſt a great many men in the defence of the place, being reduced to 2 major-generals, 2 brigadiers, 8 colonels, 4 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 76 captains, 83 lieutenants, 51 under-lieutenants, and 2717 private men. The governor pretended, that he was in a condition to defend himſelf ſome days longer, but that the ſoldiers, ſeeing that Marſhal Villars did not attempt to relieve the place, as he had promiſed, forced him to capitulate. It was thought ſurpriſing indeed, that that general, having a ſuperior army to his Grace, ſuffered this important place to be taken under his noſe, without making any real efforts to relieve it: but he might have excuſed himſelf upon the precautions of the Duke of Marlborough, who had taken ſuch meaſures to put this glorious enterpriſe in execution, that M. de Villars foreſaw, that if he offered to attack him, he ſhould loſe moſt of his army, as well as the town.

Encomium on the campaign.

The ſucceſs of this ſiege, ſo difficult in all its circumſtances, ſo encouraged the Confederate troops, that they never expreſſed more eagerneſs for action. His Grace's ſtratagem in paſſing the enemies lines without the loſs of a man, his cutting off the communication of the enemy with Bouchain, the manner of his inveſting the town with an inferior army, the caſting up lines, making regular forts, raiſing batteries, laying bridges over a river, making paſſable a moraſs, and providing for the ſecurity of convoys againſt a ſuperior army on one ſide, and the numerous garriſon of Conde and Valenciennes on the other, ſhewed

ſhewed the unparallel'd conduct of that great General; and his forcing a ſtrong garriſon to deliver up ſo important a place, and ſurrender priſoners of war, was returning to the purpoſe the *Ne plus ultra* of M. de Villars upon him and his 100,000 men. That General had formed a project to ſurpriſe Aire, and M. de Goeſbriant marched with the garriſon of St. Omer, and ſome other troops, for that purpoſe; but had the ſame ſucceſs as M. Albergotti had much about the ſame time upon Doway, which he was likewiſe to ſurpriſe: ſo that thoſe two generals miſcarried in the deſign they had to regain their former governments. 1711

The garriſon of Bouchain complain of the breach of articles.

The French were ſo mortified at the loſs of Bouchain, that M. de Ravignan, the French governor of that town, and the other principal officers of the garriſon, having repreſented to the French court, that the conditions promiſed them during the parley were not made good to them, and inſiſting they were only to be deemed priſoners to be conducted home, and to be accounted for in future exchanges; their repreſentation was tranſmitted to the Duke of Marlborough by Marſhal Villars. But his Grace, in anſwer to it, returned him atteſtations ſigned by General Fagel, who commanded the ſiege, and Colonel Pagneis, one of his hoſtages, who they pretended had made them that offer in the name of M. Fagel; by which it plainly appeared that their complaint was altogether groundleſs, and that they never had the leaſt encouragement given them to hope for any other conditions than to be made priſoners of war.

The Allies reſolve to undertake no other enterpriſe.

It was given out after this ſiege, that the Earl of Albemarle having been diſpatched to the Hague, to communicate to the States the condition of the army, and the Duke of Marlborough's opinion on the further operations of the campaign, their High Mightineſſes were ſenſible, that no other

ſiege

1711

ſiege ought to be undertaken, becauſe the enemy had deſtroyed the country about Queſnoy, Valenciennes, and other places, ſo that the army would not be able to ſubſiſt; and beſides, that the ſeaſon was ſo far ſpent, that people ought not to expect a long continuation of fair weather. But the truth was ſaid to be, that his Grace had in all probability taken Queſnoy the ſame ſummer; only the Dutch, being alarmed by ſome propoſals of peace made by the French at the Britiſh court, would not conſent to it; ſo that his Grace returned to the Hague, where he was received with the uſual tokens of joy and gratitude by the States-General, and their ſubjects; while in England the writer of the *Poſt-Boy* was commanded by men of no ſmall authority, to re-print what the French had before ſaid, that Bouchain was no better than a pigeon-houſe, and that it coſt the Duke of Marlborough 16,000 men.

The Dutch hinder any farther operations.

In the mean time the commiſſioners of accounts had drawn up a charge againſt him, in order to be preſented to the parliament: and though the Duke ſet that matter in the trueſt light, by a letter which he ſent the commiſſioners before they could make the report, yet they made uſe of his letter as a proof of his guilt; and after his arrival at St. James's, where he continued a while, to all outward appearance, in the good graces of the Queen and the new miniſtry, the new members, who had the majority in the Houſe of Commons, voted, "That his Grace's "taking ſeveral ſums of money yearly from the "contractors for furniſhing the army with bread "and bread-waggons, was illegal; and that the "two and a half *per cent.* deducted from the "foreign troops in Britiſh pay, ought to be accounted for as publick money." In anſwer to this, his friends in the Houſe proved, "That the "firſt was always the general's perquiſite: that "the

The Duke accuſed in parliament.

" the reſt of the Confederates gave the ſame 1711
" rates for bread as the Engliſh; and that the
" publick received no injury from that perqui-
" ſite. They alſo urged, that the two and a
" half *per Cent.* was not accounted for as pub-
" lick money, becauſe allowed by the conſent of
" the foreign troops: that the ſecret ſervice
" of the army could not be carried on without
" it, becauſe the uſual allowance on that head
" fell ſhort: that by this means 15000 *l. per*
" *Ann.* was provided for carrying on that ſervice:
" that his Grace had the Queen's warrant, and
" the conſent of the troops, for ſuch deduction:
" that all the ſums received on that account
" had been employed in ſecret ſervices for the
" army, and that without thoſe ſums the ex-
" pence of ſo many early and long campaigns,
" great battles and ſieges, could not have been
" carried on; ſo that they thought his Grace
" rather deſerved the thanks of the houſe for
" his good huſbandry, than their cenſure for miſ-
" management, ſince he had not only applied the
" 10,000 *l.* yearly allowed for the ſervices they
" were intended, but added 15,000 *l.* a year
" more for intelligence." Nevertheleſs, the Ma-
jority of the commons ordered the attorney-Ge-
neral to proſecute him for what they called pu-
blick money, which was done accordingly, ſoon
after by information in the Exchequer-Court.

The 1ſt of January, 1712, his Grace was re- 1712
moved from all his offices of truſt, tho' he had
very lately aſſerted his integrity before the Queen *Removed*
in the houſe of Peers. Thinking himſelf reflected *from his em-*
on there by a noble Lord, as a perſon that delight- *ployments.*
ed in war, he ſpoke to this effect, (making a low
bow to the place where her Majeſty ſat) " That
" he referred himſelf to her Majeſty, whether he
" had not conſtantly, while he was plenipoten-
" tiary, given her Majeſty and her council an ac-

1712

His apology in the houſe of Peers.

" count of all the propoſitions that had been
" made, and had not deſired inſtructions for his
" conduct on that ſubject: that he could declare,
" with a good conſcience, in the preſence of
" her Majeſty, and that illuſtrious aſſembly,
" and of God himſelf, who was infinitely ſupe-
" rior to all the powers of the earth, and before
" whom, by the ordinary courſe of nature, he
" ſhould ſoon appear to render an account of his
" actions, that he ever was deſirous of a ſafe,
" honourable, and laſting peace; and that he was
" always very far from prolonging the war for
" his own private advantage, as ſeveral libels
" and diſcourſes had moſt falſly inſinuated: that
" his great age, and the many fatigues of war,
" made him ardently wiſh for the power to enjoy
" a quiet repoſe, in order for him to think of
" eternity. As for other matters, he had not the
" leaſt inducement, on any account whatſoever,
" to deſire the continuance of the war for his
" own particular intereſt, ſince his ſervices had
" been ſo generouſly rewarded, both by her Ma-
" jeſty and her parliament; but that he thought
" himſelf obliged to ſuch an acknowledgment to
" her Majeſty and his country: that he was al-
" ways ready to ſerve them (whenever his duty
" ſhould require) to obtain an honourable and
" laſting peace; yet that he could by no means
" give into the meaſures that had been taken to
" enter into a negotiation of peace with France,
" upon the foot of ſome pretended preliminaries
" that were then handed about; ſince his opinion
" was the ſame with that of moſt of the Allies,
" that the leaving Spain and the Weſt-Indies to
" the houſe of Bourbon, would be the entire ruin
" of Europe; which he had, with all fidelity and
" humility, declared to her Majeſty, when he
" had the honour to wait upon her, a little after
" his arrival from Holland."

How-

1712

However, his Grace acquieſced under his diſmiſſion with all poſſible reſignation; but it quite ſunk the ſpirit that had before animated the grand alliance: and it is too glaring to be denied, how the French, who dared not to look him in the face, took courage in his abſence, and by cunning and treachery recovered the conqueſts which his Grace had made the two laſt campaigns by his valour and experience.

His diſmiſſion hurts the grand alliance.

In the mean time, all arts were uſed to render his Grace obnoxious at home, and to involve him in any thing that looked like a deſign againſt the government: and in particular the *examiner*, with impunity, if not with encouragement, ſuggeſted, that his Grace deputed the Lord Mohun to be the general bully of the faction; and it was falſly whiſpered, that he was privy to the challenge ſent to the Duke of Hamilton. All which ungenerous, unchriſtian treatment, made him reſolve upon a voluntary exile from his native country: for which having obtained a paſs, and conveyed moſt of his real eſtate to his four ſons-in-law, he ſet out for Dover on the 24th of November, and ſtaying for the wind, at the houſe of his friend Sir Henry Furneſe, he embarked the 30th for Oſtend, in the North-Britain pacquet-boat.

Libelled by the examiner

When his Grace landed at Oſtend, he was ſaluted by a general diſcharge of the cannon from the town, forts and ſhipping, and received by General Cadogan and the governor of the place, who conducted him to a noble dinner at captain Brown's, through a vaſt concourſe of people, and the garriſon under arms. He ſupped with the governor, lay at the burgomaſter's houſe, and, tho' he deſired no honours ſhould be paid him, yet when he ſet out for Antwerp, he was honoured with another tripple diſcharge of all the artillery of the ramparts, and the ſhipping in the harbour. He was met without the gates of Antwerp by

Goes abroad.

1712

His reception at Antwerp and Maeſtricht.

by the governor of the citadel, who in the Emperor's name offered him all the ceremonies generally paid to crowned heads: but his Grace deſired to be excuſed, and would have went *incognito* to his lodgings. He was introduced however with the noiſe of the cannon, and the acclamations of the people. The governor made a handſome collation for his Grace, and then the Duke haſtened to Maeſtricht by the moſt private roads, without entring into the towns, that had made preparation for his reception. But the whole country was filled with ſpectators, becauſe the governor of Maeſtricht had ſent out parties of horſe to lie every where in the road from thence to Antwerp to attend his Grace. When he arrived at Maeſtricht, he was ſaluted by the cannon from the bulwarks, and by the garriſon drawn up under arms, being accompanied into the town by the Generals Dopf and Cadogan. He alighted at the governor's houſe, was honoured with a guard under a captain, lieutenant and enſign, and complimented by the magiſtrates in a full body. He went out of town under a diſcharge of all the artillery, the garriſon being drawn out, and was attended by the Generals Dopf and Cadogan, till he was out of the territories of the States-General. Then he came to Aix-la-Chapelle, where the peaſants flocked to ſee him; and his levee was crowded with all the perſons of quality in the town, who were unanimous in their reſpects to his great merit. In particular the French Marquis de Leſdigueres declared publickly, "That "he had now ſeen the man who was equal to the "Marſhal de Turenne in conduct, to the Prince "of Conde in courage, and ſuperior to the Mar"quis de Luxemburg in ſucceſs.

The Emperor gives him the Lordſhip of Guntzburg.

The ſame year the Emperor gave him the Lordſhip of Guntzburg, with a great many priviledges annexed unto it. It is a city in the marquiſate of Burgaw in Upper Suabia, and lies upon the

the Danube between Ulm and Augſburg, about 17 miles from Hockſtedt, and 13 French leagues from Mindelheim. It has a caſtle, which is the ſeat of the Emperor's governor. 1713

Viſits ſeveral towns in Germany.

In 1713 his Grace viſited his principality of Mindelheim, and ſeveral towns in Germany, where he had great honours, particularly at Frankfort, whoſe magiſtrates preſented him with a tun of wine. Here he had frequent interviews with his victorious brother the Prince Eugene, whom he had frequently honoured with his company when that Prince was at London.

His rank in the Empire.

It may not be improper here to obſerve, that as his Grace had the honour to be ranked among the Princes of the Empire, ſo he was obliged (as well as the other Princes and States) to furniſh a certain quota of men and money for defence of the Empire, for what they call a *Roman month*. And the curious may be informed from the Matricula of the Empire, or repartition of the States and cities, according to the conſtitution of Charles V, that the quota of the Prince of Mindelheim is 3 horſe, 10 foot, and 76 florins. When this Prince takes his place in the college, he ſits next to the Duke of Schwartzenburg, and before the Counts of Suabia, Wetteravia, Franconia, and Weſtphalia.

His return to England, re-eſtabliſhment and death.

His Grace returned to England in 1714, and accidentally landed at Dover the very day Queen Anne died, who, it was thought, had an intention to take him again into favour. King George I. reſtored him to all his dignities, and in the office of captain-general he was very inſtrumental, by his orders, in ſuppreſſing the rebellion in the north. His Grace, however, never appeared afterwards at the head of an army, but in a ſhort time retired from all buſineſs, and ſpent the remainder of his days at Blenheim-Houſe, or ſome other of his country-ſeats. At Windſor-lodge, one of thoſe ſeats, he breathed his laſt, on the

1722 16th of June, 1722, in the 73d year of his age, and was afterwards moſt pompouſly buried, at his Majeſty's expence, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, on the 9th day of Auguſt.

His character. It is a difficult taſk to draw the character of a man of whom prejudice has ſtill much to ſay, nor can any thing be added to what may be every day heard from the mouths either of his friends or enemies. But ſo many indiſputable great qualities were conſpicuous in the D. of Marlborough, that all agree he was one of the firſt men of the age. In perſon he was tall and handſome, of a noble and graceful appearance, with a very obliging addreſs. He had a wonderful preſence of mind, ſo as hardly ever to be diſcompoſed. Bred up in a court, he knew the art of living in it beyond any man. He had no great literature, but was bleſſed with a very clear head, a penetration that ſcarce any thing could eſcape, and a ſolid and ſound judgment. As he ſeldom failed of ſucceſs in any thing he undertook, ſo he was never daunted for want of it whenever diſappointed. Equally able both to contrive and execute, he was always an over-match to the Generals that were ſent againſt him. Laborious and vigilant, he truſted nothing to others that became himſelf to perform. The Duke of Vendome, by much the greateſt General France then had, could only boaſt that he was but once beaten in two campaigns, and that he protracted, but could not raiſe, the ſiege of Liſle. This indeed was a great matter, when he had to deal with the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe march to the Danube, and reduction of Bavaria, was his own contrivance, and executed with a bravery hardly to be parallel'd in hiſtory.

But I have given ſo many ſketches of our Hero's perſon and mind, in different parts of this work, that it would be needleſs to add any farther idea of him here, beſides what may be drawn from his immortal actions, thoſe moſt inconteſtable characteriſticks

1722

niſticks of true merit. Nor can theſe be ſummed up with greater ſtrength, and at the ſame time ſimplicity, than in the monumental inſcription engraved on the Pillar in Blenheim-Park, and compoſed, as ſome ſay, by a gentleman in the oppoſite intereſt, whoſe pen could have no other guide but an impartial love of truth.

The Monumental Inſcription, &c.

The caſtle of Blenheim was founded by Q. Anne,
In the fourth year of her reign;
In the year of the Chriſtian Aera 1705;
A monument deſigned to perpetuate the memory of the ſignal victory
Obtain'd over the French and Bavarians,
Near the village of Blenheim,
On the banks of the Danube,
By John Duke of Marlborough;
The Hero not only of his nation, but of his age;
Whoſe glory was equal in the council and in the field;
Who by wiſdom, juſtice, candor and addreſs,
Reconciled various, and even oppoſite intereſts;
Acquired an influence, which no rank, no authority can give.
Nor any force but that of ſuperior virtue;
Became the fixed important center,
Which united in one common cauſe
The principal States of Europe;
Who by military knowledge, and irreſiſtable valour,
In a long ſeries of uninterrupted triumphs,
Broke the power of France,
When raiſed the higheſt, when exerted the moſt;
Reſcued the Empire from deſolation;
Aſſerted and confirmed the liberties of Europe.

Philip a grandſon of the houſe of France, united to the intereſts, directed by the policy, ſupported by the arms of that crown, was placed on the throne of Spain. King William the Third beheld this formidable union of two great, and once rival, monarchies. At the end of a life ſpent in defending the liberties of Europe, he ſaw them in their greateſt danger. He provided for their ſecurity, in the moſt effectual manner. He took the Duke of Marlborough into his ſervice.

Ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary
To the States-General of the united provinces.

The Duke contracted ſeveral alliances before the death of King William. He confirmed and improved theſe. He contracted others, after the acceſſion of Q. Anne; and re-united the confederacy, which had

had been diſſolved at the end of a former war, in a ſtricter and firmer league.

Captain general and commander in chief
Of the forces of Great Britain,
The Duke led to the field the army of the Allies.

He took with ſurpriſing rapidity Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenſwaert, Liege. He extended and ſecured the frontiers of the Dutch. The enemies, whom he found inſulting at the gates of Nimeguen, were driven to ſeek for ſhelter behind their lines. He forced Bonne, Huy, Limbourg, in another campaign. He opened the communication of the Rhine as well as the Maes. He added all the country between theſe rivers to his former conqueſts. The arms of France, favoured by the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, had penetrated into the heart of the Empire. This mighty body lay expoſed to immediate ruin. In that memorable criſis, the Duke of Marlborough led his troops with unexampled celerity, ſecrecy, order, from the ocean to the Danube. He ſaw; he attacked; nor ſtopped, but to conquer the enemy. He forced the Bavarians, ſuſtained by the French, in their ſtrong intrenchments at Shellenberg. He paſſed the Danube. A ſecond royal army, compoſed of the beſt troops of France, was ſent to reinforce the firſt. That of the Confederates was divided. With one part of it the ſiege of Ingolſtadt was carried on. With the other the Duke gave battle to the united ſtrength of France and Bavaria. On the ſecond day of Auguſt, 1704, he gained a more glorious victory than the hiſtories of any age can boaſt. The heaps of ſlain were dreadful proofs of his valour. A marſhal of France, whole legions of French, his priſoners, proclaimed his mercy. Bavaria was ſubdued. Ratisbon, Augsburg, Ulm, Meminghen, all the uſurpations of the enumy, were recovered. The liberty of the dyet, the peace of the Empire, were reſtored. From the Danube the Duke turned his victorious arms toward the Rhine and the Moſelle. Landau, Treves, Traerbach were taken. In the courſe of one campaign, the very nature of the war was changed. The invaders of other States were reduced to defend their own. The frontier of France was expoſed in its weakeſt parts to the efforts of the Allies.

That he might improve his advantage, that he might puſh the ſum of things to a ſpeedy deciſion, the Duke of Marlborough led his troops early in the following year once more to the Moſelle. They, whom he had ſaved a few months before, neglected to ſecond him now. They, who might have been his companions in conqueſt, refuſed to join him. When he ſaw the generous deſigns he had formed fruſtated by private intereſt, by pique, by jealouſy, he returned with ſpeed to the Maes. He returned; and fortune and victory returned with him. Liege was relieved; Huy re-taken; the French, who had preſſed the army of the States-General with ſuperior numbers, retired behind entrenchments which they deemed impregnable. The Duke forced theſe entrenchments, with inconſiderable loſs, on the ſeventh

day

day of July, 1705. He defeated a great part of the army, which defended them. The reſt eſcaped by a precipitate retreat. If advantages proportionable to this ſucceſs were not immediately obtained, let the failure be aſcribed to that misfortune, which attends moſt confederacies, a diviſion of opinions, where one alone ſhould judge; a diviſion of powers, where one alone ſhould command. The diſappointment itſelf did honour to the Duke. It became the wonder of mankind how he could do ſo much under thoſe reſtraints, which had hindred him from doing more.

Powers more abſolute were given him afterwards. The increaſe of his powers multiplied his victories. At the opening of the next campaign, when all his army was not yet aſſembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the field, the noiſe of his triumphs was heard over Europe. On the 12th of May, 1706. he attacked the French at Ramillies. In the ſpace of two hours, their whole army was put to flight. The vigour and conduct with which he improved this ſucceſs, were equal to thoſe with which he gained it. Louvain, Bruſſels, Malines, Liere, Ghent, Oudenard, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray ſurrender'd. Oſtend, Menin, Dendermonde, Aeth were taken. Brabant and Flanders were recovered. Places, which had reſiſted the greateſt generals for months, for years; provinces, diſputed for ages, were the conqueſts of a ſummer. Nor was the Duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general intereſt, his care extended to the remoteſt ſcenes of the war. He choſe to leſſen his own army, that he might enable the leaders of other armies to conquer. To this it muſt be aſcribed that Turin was relieved, the Duke of Savoy re-inſtated, the French driven with confuſion out of Italy.

Theſe victories gave the Confederates an opportunity of carrying the war, on every ſide, into the dominions of France. But ſhe continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful neutrality in Germany. From Italy ſhe was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire reduction of this power, whoſe ambition had cauſed, whoſe ſtrength ſupported the war, ſeemed reſerved for him alone, who had ſo triumphantly begun the glorious work.

The barrier of France, on the ſide of the Low Countries, had been forming for more than half a century. What art, power, expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here ſhe was moſt expoſed; for here the Duke of Marlborough threatened to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by ſurpriſe, or had been yielded to them by treachery, the French marched to the banks of the Schelde. At their head were the Princes of the blood, and their moſt fortunate General, the Duke of Vendome. Thus commanded, thus poſted, they hoped to check the victor in his courſe. Vain were their hopes. The Duke of Marlborough paſſed the river in their ſight. He defeated their whole army. The approach of night

night concealed, the proximity of Ghent favoured their flight. They neglected nothing to repair their loſs; to defend their frontier. New generals, new armies appeared in the Netherlands. All contributed to enhance the glory, none were able to retard the progreſs of the Confederate arms.

Liſle, the Bulwark of this barrier, was beſieged. A numerous garriſon and a Marſhal of France defended the place. Prince Eugene of Savoy commanded, the Duke of Marlborough covered and ſuſtained the ſiege. The rivers were ſiezed, and the communication with Holland interrupted. The Duke opened new communications with great labour and much greater art. Through countries, over-run by the enemy, the neceſſary convoys arrived in ſafety. One alone was attacked. The troops, which attack'd it, were beat. The defence of Liſle was animated by aſſurances of relief.

The French aſſembled all their force. They marched towards the town. The Duke of Marlborough offered them battle, without ſuſpending the ſiege. They abandoned the enterpriſe. They came to ſave the town. They were ſpectators of its fall.

From this conqueſt the Duke haſtened to others. The poſts taken by the enemy on the Schelde were ſurpriſed. That river was paſſed the ſecond time; and, notwithſtanding the great preparations made to prevent it, without oppoſition.

Bruſſels, beſieged by the Elector of Bavaria, was relieved. Ghent ſurrender'd to the Duke in the middle of a winter remarkably ſevere. An army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the place.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted him to open another campaign, the Duke beſieged and took Tournay. He inveſted Mons. Near this city the French army, covered by thick woods defended by treble intrenchments, waited to moleſt, nor preſumed to offer battle. Even this was not attempted by them with impunity. On the laſt day of Auguſt 1709, the Duke attack'd them in their camp. All was employed, nothing availed againſt the reſolution of ſuch a general; againſt the fury of ſuch troops. The battle was bloody. The event deciſive. The woods were pierced. The fortifications trampled down. The enemy fled. The town was taken. Doway, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Bouchain underwent the ſame fate in two ſucceeding years. Their vigorous reſiſtance could not ſave them The army of France durſt not attempt to relieve them. It ſeeme preſerved to defend the capital of the monarchy.

The proſpect of this extreme diſtreſs was neither diſtant nor dubious. The French acknowledged their conqueror, and ſued for peace.

Theſe are the actions of the Duke of Marlborough,
Perform'd in the compaſs of few years,
Sufficient to adorn the annals of ages
The admiration of other nations
Will be conveyed to lateſt poſterity,
In the hiſtories even of the enemies of Britain.

The

The ſenſe which the Britiſh nation had
Of his tranſcendent merit
Was expreſſed
In the moſt ſolemn, moſt effectual, moſt durable manner,
The acts of Parliament, inſcribed on this pillar,
Shall ſtand,
As long as the Britiſh name and language laſt,
Illuſtrious monuments
Of Marlborough's glory,
And
Of Britain's gratitude.

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FINIS.

